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ABSTRACT

This document consists of the four issues of "Notes on Linguistics" published during 1991. Articles in the four issues include: "Linguistics without Books: A Diary Entry" (John Verhaar); "Writing for Scholarly Publications" (Howard Law); "Will Kofi Understand the White Woman's Dictionary?" (Gillian Hansford); "Tips About 'WORD'" (Bryan Harmelink); "Checklist for Writing Book Reviews" (translated by Dwight Day); "Introduction to Two-Level Phonology" (Evan L. Antworth); "Computing in Linguistics: A Two-Level Processor for Morphological Analysis" (Gary F. Simons); "On Ambiguity: A Diary Entry" (John Verhaar); "Handling Language Data: Excerpts from a Field Manual" (Thomas Payne); "How Pragmatic Is Pragmatics?" (J. Douglas Wingate); "Reanalytics: A Diary Entry" (John Verhaar); and "Readability Revisited" (Charles Peck). Number 54 is devoted to author, title, and keyword indexes of previous issues. (MSE)

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Coordinator's Corner

How much linguistic thinking can you do if you are "bookless"? I hope you find John Verhaar's reflections to be light reading, yet provocative. Being bookless for a time is a more-or-less perennial state for most of us, removed from library facilities and without time or funds to keep up with the literature. John has done us a favor by exposing his thoughts. Lack of resources might even have been an asset in writing *Linguistics Without Books: A Diary Entry*.

Howard Law's article *Writing For Scholarly Publications* touches on a topic that you won't find much written about: the "market" that exists for scholarly writing, to which you need to tailor your article. I have heard from several sources that the article rejection rate of some prominent journals these days is between 80% and 90%. If those figures are correct, they mean that there is a huge number of writers who perhaps wind up leaving their creations in a file or tossed away because of the considerations that Howard deals with. That makes *Writing For Scholarly Publications* worth reading!

Gillian Hansford's *Will Kofi Understand the White Woman's Dictionary?* discusses problems confronted by a dictionary maker working in an area where knowing both specific traditions and certain reader requirements are necessary and have to be taken into account to make the dictionary useful. Fortunately, most of our dictionary-making enterprises are done with some sort of standard format-marking system so that rapid conversion from one format to another is relatively easy. If you are working on a dictionary, you may be one of the compilers who appreciate knowing what considerations were made and tested by someone in a situation that may be similar to yours.

We are indebted to Brazilian scholar Francisco Gomes de Matos for Dwight Day's article *Guidelines for Writing Book Reviews*. This article offers help to readers who have never undertaken to do a review. Doing a review isn't so very hard, and it can be very rewarding in opening one's horizons, more so than just reading the book. Do keep in mind our list of new books available, shown on page 59. One or more of them could be yours.

Columns in computer journals regularly provide tips on how to do things with word processors. But there are always things our work requires that weren't considered by designers of today's word processors. Thanks to Bryan Harmelink for his suggestions in *Tips About Word*.

–Eugene Loos

LINGUISTICS WITHOUT BOOKS: A DIARY ENTRY

by John W.M. Verhaar

The Netherlands

This short essay is triggered by a special circumstance: I have no books. I am moving shortly and all my books are packed. Thus I am left with things that bother me (professionally) and freed, temporarily, from the compulsion to look up what others have said about those things. Here is a sample of my musings in an acute state of biblio–deficiency, in tribute to those many field workers out there toting tape recorders and batteries but no books.

* * *

Sometimes it is asserted that a sentence like:

(1) *I might do that.*

is "ungrammatical" for the "permissive" reading of *might* as: 'was allowed to', except in indirect speech. So, only a modal (or "propositive") reading of *might* is said to make (1) "grammatical".

Similarly, the sentence:

(2) *She had come because of himself.*

is "grammatical" on the reading that it represents indirect speech, with *himself* co–referential with the speaker, and "ungrammatical" on any other reading.

What can it mean to say that utterance X is "ungrammatical" on reading(s) Z? Let's propose that X is ungrammatical on reading Z if it does not express Z. But for any utterance there must be constructible an infinite number of readings Z that "make it ungrammatical". For example, both sentences (1) and (2) are "ungrammatical" on the reading:

(3) 'Linguists are addicted to theories.'

I suggest that statements of the form:

(4) X is ungrammatical on reading(s) Z.

are neither true nor false but meaningless: ungrammaticalness cannot be due to inappropriate readings, and grammaticalness can not depend on immunity to them.

Then where do inappropriate readings come from? No one will read (1) or (2) as (3). What might motivate someone to say that (1) is ungrammatical on a "permissive" reading of *might* is that the latter may have such a reading; that is, in indirect speech. Thus it must be that a statement like (4) is a didactic device, for the benefit of the learner of a language, who is perhaps actually told that, though *might* is ambiguous (as between "permissive" and "propositive"), it is not in (1). So a statement like (4) offers didactic help to a learner to discern disambiguating use, in context, of a form which is open to other readings in other contexts.

Another problem arises here. Admittedly, statements of the form (4) are not invariably in second language learning context, and occur at least as often in descriptions. Why would a linguist apply (4) to (1) or (2), addressing, more likely than not, an audience natively fluent in English? I suggest that the pseudo-pedagogical framework of such descriptive strategies is based on something "odd" about phrasing things we already know without phrasing them. Native speakers of English will produce well-formed utterances without having any idea about what makes them well-formed. His "knowledge" of English is not only perfect without his knowing why, but almost on condition he doesn't know why – that is, while actually using the language. But linguists do know (or try to), and thus lead a somewhat schizophrenic existence. A linguist using her native language does not use her language well because she is a linguist, but inversely she bases description on her intuition as a native speaker. Thus, field workers still learning their target language try to phrase what that language is like thanks to the inability to do so on the part of native speakers. (Theoretical explanations of native speakers about their language are notoriously unreliable – once your language helper explains "Well, you see, our adjectives are not normally predicative", you are both sympathetic and wary.)

* * *

Philosophers have distinguished the two kinds of "knowledge" in this regard as "knowing how" and "knowing that". For the matter in hand here, the former is manifest in native fluency, the latter in descriptive work by the professional linguist. The truck driver knows "how" to back up his monster, in a turn, into a garage with an inch to spare on either side. If he can tell you how he does it, he must be an instructor – he will have a "theory" – which is likely either to be vague or to be clear but uncertain. (Clarity and certainty tend to be allergic to one another.) But if the garage is yours, you'll beg him to forget his theory for a moment while backing into it. What you want is for him to keep your garage in one piece, not for him to be expositorily brilliant and wreck your home in the process. Knowing how and knowing that can be mutually incapacitating. The former is spontaneous; the latter, reflective and thus deliberate. One can't be deliberate spontaneously.

For linguistics, this means that professionals much addicted to theories are perhaps to be distrusted. If you do field work on some unwritten language, it makes no sense to seek support from stands such as that "language is really mind", or that grammatical relations are "primitives", or that the notion of Subject is a language–universal, or whatever. Indulging in theory is often an effort to keep up with the professional Joneses rather than to arrive at understanding of human languages. The true field worker is an inveterate skeptic.

* * *

This entails many things. One of them is perhaps the idea that there may be no workable notion of "grammar" in any sense now current. True, certain basics seem clear enough; for example, sequential order is at least in part a matter of "grammar". Overwhelmingly, it now seems that grammar is not "autonomous", and overlaps with lexical properties, pragmatic regularities, and the requirements of information processing – and the latter entails cultural characteristics of the speech community, as well as more ephemeral factors such as what the speaker thinks the hearer knows, or might feel the hearer feels the speaker knows – it can get complicated.

But if we concentrate on the "schizophrenogenic" existence of the descriptive linguist, it seems more enlightening to bring in a bit of occupational psychology. One feature of that psychology is that there seems to be a subliminal "normativity" in conceptions of "grammaticalness" on the part of (at least) those who are strongly attached to guidance from some ("strong") theory. Arguments among ("formalist") linguists who are native speakers of the target language about what is well-formed and what isn't have abated somewhat (since the 60s and 70s), but they're still there. The "normative" element is there because of commitment to a theory, and not (as in the case of the schoolteacher) in favor of the "standard" rather than any "nonstandard" speech forms. Both are forms of bias: the former is academically motivated; the latter, educationally (and ultimately perhaps socio-politically). It can be risky to be one's own informant – even for one's own native language.

At the other extreme, the idea (briefly popular in some circles half a generation ago) that there's no workable notion of "grammar", and that everything is "functional" and "pragmatic", is not the solution either. Even those enthusiasts now talk about "grammaticization" and "structuralization" (and, inversely, even "formalists" are now less insistent than they used to be on a total divorce of "syntax" and "semantics"; "Semantics", of course, is the formalist's concession to pragmatics and to a more radical functionalism generally). On the other hand, functionalists have made some concessions to the representativeness of utterances by distinguishing some as "prototypical". The "prototypicality" hypothesis is both useful and risky. The risk is that the normative urge may slip in through the back door, or that "competence" is made to preside Platonically over "performance".

* * *

And yet, we cannot work in the field (or anywhere) without some intuitions about what a language will never do. Suppose someone tells you he's found a language in which the fourth word in any clause must be a CVCVCCV noun in the genitive dual – you will feel that he's having you on. You are quite sure there's no such language. So am I. But how do we **know** such things? Without books, it seems like a good exercise to try to work this out, but let me leave that to you for now. I am in the middle of a diary entry.

Some "intuitions" are really internalizations of what we know from research actually done. For example, that there's no language that has a trial but not a dual, or a language that has pre-nominal nonrestrictive relative clauses. Nevertheless, we promise to concede error once someone produces a language with counterevidence.

Other "intuitions" are really prejudices, hardened by addiction to some theory. It makes little sense to say that a language has no "adjectives" unless we have exhaustive and cross-linguistically tested ideas about what "adjectives" are. It may be meaningless to say that a language favors zero anaphora unless we can show that "zero anaphora" differ from there being no need for anaphora (in certain contexts) at all. As the old joke says, irrecoverable deletions are the linguist's hallucination. Or the stand that there's no such thing as "grammar" may mean that you've sworn you will never call anything "grammar". ("Theories" may boil down to semantic circularity.) The expression "pro-drop languages" may express fantasies comparable to those that picture human anatomy as lacking a third leg or ear: one can't "drop" what isn't there. I am willing to prove to you (with references as soon as I've unpacked my books) that there is no "government" (as traditionally understood) in languages of the type "buy-FUT-3PL-AG-3SG-FEM-BEN-3SG-PAT-3SG-LOC men girl flower market [with those nouns unmarked]" for "the men will buy flowers for the girl in the market", and I want to bet that such languages say "with-him man", rather than "with man-CASE" for "with the man". But my "proof" will boil down to the testimony that no such language has so far been found to have "government" (or anything like "exocentric constructions"). (For this, see Johanna Nichols in Language 1986 – **that** epoch-making paper I will remember even if the ship carrying my books is sunk.)

So we learn to trust or distrust our intuitions, and to be exposed to contrastive data from unfamiliar languages. A field worker told me once that his target language has only about half a dozen verbs, and in that language the opposite numbers of the many thousands of verbs in a language like English are combinations ("compounds"?) of those few verbs with other segments of various kinds. I dream of writing a paper entitled "How many verbs do we need?".

• • •

In my office with all those bare shelves, I now fancy myself as something in between the armchair theorist and the field worker. After all, the armchair people write papers on claims for which they need data from Nunggubuyu, Kwakiutl, Guaymí or Azerbaijani, but those data are right next to the chair on the shelf – others have gathered them. (Well then, at least the data base is not just English.) The field worker *sans* library and the armchair theorist with shelves groaning under books need one another. Or better, each of us linguists needs both forms of professional work, in succession. Then both types of scholars will discover things even in (yes!) English which no one ever saw (or someone did and said so but no one listened). For example that there are (I think) no such things as "stranded prepositions". Or that alienable and inalienable possession are distinguished not only in some Australian or Eastern Indonesian languages but also in English (consider: I have a {missing tooth/*missing dollar bill} – that one is from Fillmore, I think). Let me explain. Oh, I can't, not without my books. Some other time. ■

The Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States (LACUS) Eighteenth Annual Meeting

The Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States will hold its 18th annual meeting August 13–17, 1991, at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Send inquiries to:

Valerie M. Makkai, Sec. – Treas.
LACUS
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Lake Bluff, IL 60044

■

PRONOMINAL SYSTEMS
now available at half price

Pronominal Systems, edited by Ursula Wiesmann, is a compilation of 20 papers describing the pronoun systems of 49 non-European languages. Included is a questionnaire for researching pronominal systems that was used in writing most of the articles. This book was reviewed in NL #43 (page 36), and was pronounced to be quite a useful resource for those working on pronouns. It is now available to SIL members from the publisher, Gunter Narr Verlag, at half price – DM 68 (US $40.50 plus postage).

Ursula says that there are several reasons why branch libraries need this book. First of all, the questionnaire mentioned above is a great resource for research in any language. Second, the book gives an idea of the simplest and most complex pronominal systems reported so far. The 17 articles on specific languages (non-Indo-European languages in Africa, Southwest Pacific and Amerindian territory) give a systematic overview of the sort of complexities to be encountered and the types of research needed to comprehend them. In addition it contains basic articles on certain aspects of such systems, such as: how children acquire the system, the functions of free pronouns (especially for focus and switch reference) and the complexities of grammaticalized coreference that are particularly tricky to understand in language learning.

Ursula mentions one other reason for buying the book. The publishers are interested in doing more volumes around universal-type topics. One in preparation right now is on negation, and others might cover topics such as serial verbs, aspect-mood-tense systems in verbs, verbal extensions, etc. Our purchases will encourage the publisher to follow through on such publications which have been subventioned by them and which they assume are not money-making projects.

You can write to the publisher at the address below to order the book. You may also ask the SIL office in Holzhausen to pay for you by deducting the cost from your account (please include your account number in your correspondence to them). To order the book, contact:

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■

WRITING FOR SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

by Howard W. Law, Ph.D.

TYPES OF WRITING

Help on writing scholarly or technical articles and reports is often omitted in materials on writing for publication. Some books give brief treatment of this area, but leave much to be included.[1]

Perhaps you would like to write an article to be published or have at least thought about it; the *Notes on Linguistics* editor would certainly like to receive more manuscripts from field workers. We are, therefore, offering the following to help published and unpublished writers and field people to submit reports or articles for publication in NL. Maybe this material will encourage timid souls to try and will make work easier for experienced writers. NL style sheets are available on request.

There are several types of articles you might consider. One type often neglected in "how to write" publications is the informative article.[2] Designed to emphasize information for its own sake, it is characterized by the use of expository writing, quotes, facts, and figures. Rather than being organized according to, for example, time factors, it is organized logically and concentrates on the one unique aspect of the subject being described. Like other scholarly types, however, it also answers the questions: who, what, why, where, and how. Sometimes called a "service article," science, health, sports, and business magazines frequently include such contributions; it occurs occasionally in most other kinds of magazines. Some articles in *Notes on Linguistics* are of this type.

The scholarly article proper (or book) is another type not treated in most writer's handbooks, perhaps because of the small audience for such help. This type of writing would include various sub–types:

technical reports for linguistics and anthropology;

technical professional articles for other professionals in language and sociolinguistics;

semi-popular treatments of scholarly subjects for non-professional readers.

While conferences, seminars, workshops and how-to-do-it books are readily available to the writer of fiction, poetry, short stories, humor, etc., and some help is available to writers of non-fiction, the category non-fiction does not usually include scholarly writing as discussed here. A survey of advertisements and brochures for writers' conferences will reveal very few if any classes or lectures designed for the writer of scholarly materials. The experts brought in to these conferences do not usually have the experience or backgrounds to deal with the special problems of writing, editing, and marketing scholarly works.

Technical contributions are in report format, often are mimeographed, photocopied, or otherwise readily reproduced for limited in-group distribution.[3] SIL members who attend conferences or workshops should consider writing a report of such meetings to be published in NL.

The semi-popular treatment of scholarly subjects is usually written by a professional for an audience that want to learn something about the particular subject. Such articles appear in trade magazines along with other types of articles. Examples are *The Readers Digest*, *Time* (and other newsmagazines), *National Geographic*, *Christianity Today* and *Scientific American*. This type of publication might accept articles with a slight linguistic or cultural twist or content.

REQUIREMENTS FOR SCHOLARLY WRITING

Some important requirements for good scholarly writing may not be included in "how-to" books, for example:

(1) requirements of a general nature (required in all good writing):
- Descriptive ability: ability to accurately perceive and describe the subject matter.
- Knowledge of the audience's interests and/or needs.
- Correct interpretation and presentation to the audience.

(2) requirements of a special nature (appropriate to scholarly writing):
- Research ability beyond that required of expose, investigative reporting, historical writing, etc.
- Use of the scientific method.
- Acquaintance with the subject field and its current state.

ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS

Four essential elements of good writing, according to editors and writing authorities[4], are: lead, topic sentence, body, ending. However, scholarly writing contrasts with other types in that the four elements may be very different, or even absent – for example, a different type of lead, tight reasoning, detailed data description in the body, and no ending.

As examples, notice the following initial sentences as leads in a sample of published professional journal articles:

> "This article presents the phonemic structure of the dialect of Nahuat spoken in..."
>
> "The following study is offered in the same spirit as Archibald A. Hill offered his Eskimo and Latin sketches..."

As can be seen from these examples, the lead, when it exists, is much more direct and objective, is more "technical," and often involves the topic sentence, even giving early information or setting the scene for the body of the article. "Hooks" (phrases that catch the reader's attention) are likely to be found more in the semi-popular scholarly articles than in the technical reports and articles in professional journals, but their inclusion might be a welcome addition. Notice these examples from recent articles in NL:

> "Many people begin to fall asleep at the mere thought of looking up information about a language in a grammar or grammatical sketch."
>
> "Longacre (1976) called them 'mystery particles and affixes', while Grimes (1975.93) dubbed them 'pesky little particles.'..."

Another significant distinction is the lack of an ending. Scientific articles, technical reports, and articles in professional journals "just stop." It is not considered necessary to provide a conclusion, a summary, or other type ending. When the last element of data is described in its last relevant detail, nothing further is added. In the scholarly field it is not required that an author make "an application" of the description or the data. The data speaks for itself, and the readers make their own conclusions and applications (providing many opportunities for discussion and argument as to the relevance, meaning, application, implication, etc. at professional meetings!). In contrast to "When you've said everything there is to say, it's not enough simply to stop writing. ... it's important to create a proper

ending – the fourth essential in a magazine article."[5], when the author of scholarly material has "said everything there is to say," (i.e., all the data have been described to the appropriate level of detail) he just puts a period to his last sentence and submits his article. Only occasionally are polemic articles written and published in technical or professional journals; they constitute a sub–type of the scholarly article.

OTHER DIFFERENCES

Another difference is in the use of style manuals. Most professional societies have their own style manual; for example, the Linguistic Society of America has one for its journal, *Language*, and the American Anthropological Association for its journal, the *American Anthropologist*. The Modern Language Association also has its own journal and style sheet. *The Chicago Manual of Style* is used by many book publishers. However, many publishers request that the author write for the publishers' printed guidelines and in addition may suggest perusing some issues as samples of the appropriate writing style. Such advice and practice does not, however, give the writer specific rules about spelling, capitalization, punctuation, titling, indenting, and many other formal and mechanical features of writing helpful to the author and later to the editor and his associates.

WRITING STYLE DIFFERENCES

A notable difference in writing style for scholarly writing is found in the use and acceptance of synonyms. The rationale is that if the thing referred to is labelled with one name one time and another name another time, it raises a question as to whether the second is in some way different from the first; put briefly, the rule is: "Always call the same thing by the same name." But in other than scholarly writing, variation by the use of synonyms and other means is encouraged and, in some cases, mandated, thereby avoiding monotony, triteness, and dullness.

A further marked difference is in the use of footnotes. Authors of scholarly works rigorously footnote sources, etc. either at the bottom of the page or at the end of the article (or chapter, in the case of a book where they are called end notes). Failure to do this is seen as opening the author up to the criticism of plagiarism. Providing the

footnotes permits the reader to verify statements, investigate the context, and do further study of the subject matter. Since sources are often quoted verbatim, one problem scholarly writers face is that the resultant writing can look like a "cut and paste" job. A second problem – sort of the antithesis of the first – is the need not to violate the source author's position when casting the original statement as an indirect quote or paraphrase. When using material from other people, writers of other types of literature may not always be held accountable in their writing.

The area of market research is an additional difference. Writers of other than scholarly articles often have multiple options for their submissions. Even in some of the narrower popular fields such as sports, photography, computers, and physical fitness, at least two or three choices are available.

However, each scholarly journal is often so narrowly focused that the author may have the intended publisher pre-selected for him. Even when there is more than one journal in the field, either each journal caters to a sub-specialty, or the various journals are ranked by the professionals into top or prestigious journals and second rate or less prestigious ones. And so again the author may have his market and target audience pre-selected for him. For example, IJAL accepts articles on American Indian languages, while other journals publish articles on European languages, and NL welcomes articles on any language, but restricts its materials to linguistic and language data and concerns.

"SO WHAT"

What is the "so-what" of all of this? What is the "take away"? Several points need to be made. Although the total number of people involved one way or another in scholarly writing is small compared to those in other writing fields, it is not insignificant. The membership of the scholarly professional societies alone number in the tens of thousands. If publishers of textbooks would interest themselves in giving more help to their authors, significant gains might be made.

It is to be hoped that textbook publishing houses and houses producing other scholarly materials would be interested in establishing or supporting seminars, workshops, or conferences at

various institutions of higher learning to accomplish some of these goals.

Perhaps in the near future some type of workshop specifically on scholarly writing will be offered. SIL has enough writers experienced in this area to provide a good start for such an endeavor. Some consultant help is available now. But regardless, the unpublished reader should start writing and submitting articles at least to NL. To help you, the following two books are suggested; others are probably available, too: *The Writer's Manual* and *The Magazine Writer's Handbook*. Both deal with various topics relevant to authors writing for scholarly publications.

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Ulman, Joseph P., and Jay R. Gould. Technical Reporting. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952 (1972 edition).

The authors treat this subject for engineers and scientists; their training in college and industry provide them with expertise in writing this kind of material.

NOTES

1 See The Magazine Writer's Handbook, p. 13.

2 From The Magazine Writer's Handbook, pp. 51–57.

3 Ulman, Joseph P., and Jay R. Gould. Technical Reporting. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952 (1972 edition).
The authors treat this subject for engineers and scientists; their training in college and industry provides them with expertise in writing this kind of material.

4 "The Four Elements of a Good Article" The Magazine Writer's Handbook (pp. 78–93).

5 The Magazine Writer's Handbook, p. 93. ■

WILL KOFI UNDERSTAND THE WHITE WOMAN'S DICTIONARY?

Some ways to make a bilingual dictionary more usable to a new literate

by Gillian Hansford

1. THE PURPOSE OF A BILINGUAL DICTIONARY

Whilst the aim of a monolingual dictionary is to improve the native speaker's knowledge of the meaning, spelling, and origin of words in his own language, the aim of a bilingual dictionary is to help the native speaker of one language understand another language. Bilingual dictionaries in Africa almost invariably have as the other language English, French or another European language, thus revealing not only roots in a colonial past, but in a continuing interest by European and American linguists in non-European languages.

Is it then for these linguists that such dictionaries are written? Should not the priority be to compile a dictionary for those native speakers who are literate in their own language in order to help them bridge the gap to their national language? The answer might seem obvious, but for the fact that many dictionaries I have perused seem far too sophisticated for the average new literate. They seem to have been written by linguists for linguists, or for very well educated mother-tongue speakers.

For a language group where mother-tongue literacy is new, a bilingual dictionary clearly has value in that it standardizes spelling and encourages new readers and writers. It also has tremendous prestige value, putting the ethnic group "on the map", especially where prestige is partly assessed by the number and extent of mother-tongue publications.

2. THE STATE OF LITERACY IN CHUMBURUNG

In the Chumburung area of Ghana only about 24% of adults have had some state education, which is in English. Only 4% of adults

have actually finished both primary and middle school. Those few who have had the benefit of secondary education have moved away from the area, as there are no such schools nearby, and have sought employment in the towns, as the local economy is mainly agricultural.

For children currently of school age the picture is brighter, as about 90% are still attending school. However, tests on a top class of middle school students revealed that their English reading age varied between 6 and 11 years of age.

Some adult literacy classes in Twi were held at the time of Nkrumah, and adults who attended quickly made the transition to Chumburung reading, although writing is still hard for them. Literacy classes wholly in Chumburung were started for adults in 1979, using as teachers young men put forward by their elders as literate in English and patient amongst their own people. Since then these same men have taught Chumburung in some primary and most middle schools in a period on the timetable marked for vernacular education. In the Volta Region this period had previously been used for teaching the reading of Twi, but in the Northern Region it had been left vacant due to a lack of interest in Gonja, the officially recognised "vernacular". At the time of writing, these classes have ceased partly for political reasons, and partly due to an upgrading of all teachers in schools.

Thus the Kofi of my title could be literate in English only, or may well come from the growing body of those newly literate in their mother tongue.

What potential problems are there for Kofi as he begins to use the Chumburung Dictionary? Are there ways things can be made easier for him?

3. ALPHABETIZATION

A problem arises concerning two types of "letter". First that of non-English single letters, and then that of digraphs.

In addition to **e**, Chumburung has **ɛ** and **ɛ**.
In addition to **o**, Chumburung has **o** and **ɔ**.
In addition to **n**, Chumburung has **ŋ**.

In Christaller's Twi Dictionary and Abraham's Hausa Dictionary, no distinction is made between similar looking letters for the purpose of alphabetization. Thus in Hausa implosive ɗ (hooked d) is intermixed with ordinary d. In Twi ɛ and ɔ are intermixed. This blurs a linguistic and orthographic distinction. We have chosen to order similar looking letters with the standard English one first, the marked one second, and the one borrowed from the international phonetic alphabet last.

In several modern dictionaries aimed at new literates, reading methods have carried over into dictionary making. Thus a digraph like **gb** might be treated as one letter, since it is one phoneme. This is reasonable when dealing with word-initial digraphs, but causes problems word medially as in Vagla where the word order is as follows:

gbigi	"to be plentiful"
gbigbima	"slightly heavy"

Digraphs in Chumburung have therefore been treated as two letters, and placed in strict alphabetical order. Thus **kp** comes after **ko**, **ko̲**, and **kɔ** and before **kr** and **ku**.

This follows the English practice of placing **sh**, which is one phoneme [ʃ] between **se** and **si**.

4. HANDLING PREFIXES

In Christaller's Twi dictionary, words have been ordered according to their stem. Thus ɛpo "sea" is found under the letter **p**, and will be written ɛ-po.

The same principle has been used in the SiSwati dictionary. Thus:

si-khâlo	"a cry"
li-khâlotsi	"carrot"
(ku)-khâma	"strangle"
úm-khâma	"loaf of bread"

Since there are a large number of prefixes, it may be that this is a good way of handling that language. But Chumburung speakers never separate prefix from stem, either in speaking or writing. Therefore we have listed all words under their singular form

assuming the Chumburung speaker will know the plural form. Thus with **ku-** as prefix we have:

kuŋu N	head N

For the few cases where the plural form is in wider use than the singular, both forms are included. Thus both of these are included:

asɛŋ N	trouble N; law-case N
sing **kɛsɛŋ**	

and:

kɛsɛŋ N	trouble N

Also, if the plural form is used for building compounds or phrases, both forms are included. Thus:

akatɔ N	eyes N
akatɔbweepo N	blind person
akatɔ praŋtowa	spectacles N

and:

kɛkatɔ N	eye N

The main problem associated with ordering **kV-** nouns under **k** is that Kofi might not know which vowel to use. There is a vowel harmony system in Chumburung. If Kofi is newly literate in Chumburung this will present little problem for him, as he has learned to listen well to the sounds. If, however, he has not been to classes, he will confuse **kɛ** with **ki**, and **kɔ** with **ku**, and occasionally before bilabials he will also confuse **kɛ** with **kɔ** and **ki** with **ku**! Thus it will be essential for him to be able to look the word up in the English half. This, it is submitted, is still preferable to listing by stem.

5. WORDS EXCLUDED

Apart from plural forms which we have already mentioned, there are two categories of noun deliberately omitted. Firstly there are verbal nouns (gerunds) such as:

kɛbɛra N	rearing N	(**kɛ** + **bɛra**)

Since verbs belong to an open class, so too do verbal nouns. This would unnecessarily expand the dictionary. Also plural forms of

them do exist. The difficulty for Kofi will be in finding out what vowel to employ in the prefix.

Since one or two gerunds have a high frequency in the New Testament, and are key terms in Bible translation, a few have been included, e.g.

kɛ̱kpa N		love N

Secondly, adjectival nouns are omitted, e.g.

agyigyi N	black ones

In Chumburung, adjectives do not have concord with the noun they qualify. However, in adjectival nouns there are a choice of prefixes, so that although the class of adjectives is small, a large number of adjectival nouns are possible. Only a few of high frequency are retained in the dictionary, e.g.

ɔbrɛ̱sɛ N	elder N

from */bɛ̱rɛ/* "to get old" and */sɛ/* "adjectiviser".

Proper nouns, such as place names and certain frequently used personal names which would not normally go in a dictionary have been included. Only proverbial names have been omitted because of the infinite possibilities.

6. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES AND TONE

In most bilingual dictionaries, a grammatical category is given for each main entry for the mother tongue, for the benefit of the linguist. Occasionally, if it differs from that of the second language gloss, categories are given for both. In the interest of saving space, the reverse of the dictionary often has neither.

We believe that it is important for the prestige of a group becoming newly literate in their mother tongue that they become aware of the grammar of their own language, and of those areas where it differs from the second language. Understanding grammar is also a help in spelling.

Therefore in the Chumburung dictionary we are including the grammatical category of every entry and every gloss, unless it is either

a morpheme or a phrase, in both halves. This should save Kofi from unnecessary cross referencing also.

At first, illustrative sentences were added for those keys and glosses which differed in grammatical category, until it was found that there was an excess of sentences with ideophones! Normally, illustrative sentences have been omitted. If Kofi has read the word correctly, he will know its usage better than one sentence will show. For the linguist, such sentences are better dealt with in a grammatical description.

Tone marks have been omitted since they are not used in the orthography except for one word. In the few cases of words differing only by tone, it may be necessary to add some marking; or for a better solution, to give an explanation in Chumburung so that the senses of the two are distinguished. Lack of tone marks has meant, however, that no linguistic publisher could be found.

7. DERIVATIONS OF CHUMBURUNG WORDS

Where a word is clearly borrowed from another language, this is stated under the main entry. Since borrowings are a cause of local argument, we have used the more tactful word, "Compare..." We cannot use "See..." since no Twi dictionary is currently in print. Ideally, a Chumburung word should be used. There are remarkably few dialectal differences, but they produce an inordinate amount of disagreement, so the phrase "other dialect..." has been employed.

8. GLOSSES

Sometimes the gloss that Kofi will expect to see beside the Chumburung key is not used in standard English, e.g.

gyi kidiburo to trait V

This means "to betray" in standard English, so both forms are given, but marked as English or Ghanaian English.

Occasionally the gloss necessarily becomes more a definition or a description. We have tried to keep these short. In the case of kinship terms, the actual gloss to be used in speech is underlined, e.g.

tire N	1 man's younger <u>brother</u> 2 woman's younger <u>sister</u> 3 younger <u>cousin</u> (on either side, same sex)

The Konkomba dictionary has also added the pronunciation of each English entry, not in a recognised phonetic transcription, but rather as a Konkomba would say it, and with the Konkomba orthography, e.g.

ancient (eenshant)	kpok pam

This still presents problems. There is for example no **sh** in Konkomba, but as there is strong motivation for learning English, this solution seems better than expecting new literates to cope with the vagaries of the English pronunciation system. Unfortunately, without being in Ghana, it is very hard to produce such transcriptions oneself, so this will be delayed for Chumburung.

We have retained the infinitive form of all verbs, thus "to honour" not "honour" to distinguish from the corresponding nouns.

The dictionary was reversed using a computer program. I then read out the English words to a blind man, and if he supplied me with the listed Chumburung equivalent, we were happy. Otherwise we made what changes seemed to be necessary. This proved to be a good way of checking that the English used was acceptable to a Ghanaian.

9. INTRODUCTION AND APPENDICES

Whilst it might seem that the introduction to a dictionary is mainly for the outsider, we can also treat it as a way into the grammar of his own language for Kofi. The linguist has access to the grammatical description also. Ideally, a separate grammar for Chumburung speakers needs to be made like that for Kasem.

However, the paradigms of the various pronouns used for different moods, tenses and aspects need listing. Grammatical categories mentioned in the body of the dictionary need explaining, and

examples given. But we must beware of using words *in the* introduction that do not occur in the English – Chumburung half. So we will need to add entries for words like "noun", "adjective" etc., even if no satisfactory single word equivalent has yet been found in Chumburung.

Appendices serve both the outsider interested in the culture and Kofi and his friends, too. They are particularly useful for artifacts like pots, and for illustrating the differences between the kinship terms in the two languages. We have the typical problem of many kinds of fish, trees, etc. whose names are known in Chumburung, but can only be identified in English by reference to specialized books that give Latin names. Thus:

kpɔngkɔɔ	N	a kind of fish (Polypterus Senegalus)

Such words where there is no English equivalent do not occur in the second half, but a list of all fishes is in the appendix. The Konkomba dictionary wisely omits the use of Latin and merely refers to an appendix where a fuller description is given.

Testing among the Vagla people has revealed the popularity of the appendices, and that more could have been included with benefit. They are excellent reading practice; pictures or extra information give reading reinforcement.

10. LAYOUT

Since dictionaries are by their very nature bulky works (permanently expandable, too), all sorts of devices are employed to save space and cost of publication. This doubtless will need to be subsidized. Kofi, however, will not find it easy to read small close text, many typefaces and a proliferation of abbreviations.

Therefore for the Chumburung dictionary we have departed from the 2-columns per page preferred by both dictionary compilers and Bible printers. Instead we have listed the Chumburung words in bold print on the left of the page, and the English words in regular in the right hand column. Each subentry starts a new line. This obviates the need for breaks in the middle of phrases or even words hyphenated across lines. Twi and Hausa words from which Chumburung has

borrowed are also in bold typeface; and Latin, being European, is in regular print.

For the reverse half of the dictionary, English – Chumburung, we have retained the bold typeface for Chumburung words even though this means that the English words on which the order is based are not in bold. Since they are not embedded in other text, this should cause no problem.

It is noted that other techniques have been used in other dictionaries for differentiating words in the two languages. Some do not distinguish, using one typeface throughout. One uses red print for English in the English half only, but it does not always line up well. Some use bold and regular; some use italic and regular. One even uses all capitals for one of the languages! One uses bold for the African language, and regular for English, but italic for a cross reference to another word in that same African language!

Abbreviations need to be kept to a minimum, and those comprehensible only to the well educated should be avoided altogether, such as,

cf meaning "compare"
ex meaning "from"
i.e. meaning "that is"

To avoid using *lit.* for a literal meaning, an equals sign – known even to children in primary school – has been employed in the Chumburung dictionary, thus:

Mɔ̰ akatɔ a gyi.	He is happy. (=His eyes have eaten.)

The use of hyphen to indicate a bound form is also confusing even if an explanation and an example of its use are included. Is it to be included in the full form or not? We have chosen to include it where it is to be written, but otherwise we use three or four dots. Thus we have both:

–rɔ	in Prep
kɛ̰gya–rɔ	in the market

and:

....gyi	small Adj; child of
kɛ̰paagyi N	one guinea–worm

CONCLUSION

Having had the experience of training teachers to teach illiterates, and watching their pupils' struggles to achieve reading fluency, one problem seems to be of paramount importance in dictionary making – layout. We should try to bear in mind the user rather than the financial cost of publication. Whilst we are excited at and privileged to be allowed to study other languages, we do so for the people, not for the linguists. We should have the new literate constantly in mind as we compile a bilingual dictionary.

For the future, my dream would be to see a Chumburung dictionary totally written by a Chumburung man, with all definitions in Chumburung, and not a word of English in sight!

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APPENDIX: Sample page of Chumburung – English dictionary

dikyi N — accident N

Compare E ditch

lɔree dikyi — lorry accident

dimaadi N — human N

Compare Go **damedi** — person

Dindɔɔ N — a Chumburung village on the river bank near Zongo (=sleep today)

diŋ Qu N — quietly Adv

Compare T **diŋŋ** — still, silent

waa diŋ — to be quiet

diŋdiriŋdiŋ Id — nothing happening

diŋkrwyẹde N — left-over cassava

Compare **agbaŋgɛna**

Dogyi N — name of a fetish; also given to a person

dorii N — a kind of fish

Compare **kudorii**

dotii N — mole N; West African mole rat

dowuro N — double bell

Compare T **ɔdawuru** — bell for town-crier

Compare **kɛkpaarɛ**

dowurodapọ N — town-crier N (= one-who-beats-bell)

dọdɔ-rɔ N — right inside a room; an inner room

dọdɔ-rɔ a kɛkyaŋ-ɔ — sanctuary N

dọkɔnɛ N — kenkey (GE) N; corn mash in husk boiled maize bread

dọŋ (1) V — to save from starvation ■

TIPS ABOUT WORD

by Bryan L. Harnelink

USING LIBRARY NUMBER

You can use **Library Number** to number any file. You don't have to have an outline to take advantage of what this menu option can do. If you have a word list and you want to number it, follow these steps:

Step one:	Step two:	Step three:
1. ruka	1. ruka	1. ruka
trewa	1. trewa	2. trewa
kura	1. kura	3. kura
metawe	1. metawe	4. metawe
koyam	1. koyam	5. koyam
amun	1. amun	6. amun
mütrümün	1. mütrümün	7. mütrümün
trapial	1. trapial	8. trapial
wentru	1. wentru	9. wentru
rali	1. rali	10. rali

Step 1: Give the first line the number 1, a period, and a space;

Step 2: Replace the **<return>** with the sequence **<return>1.<space>**. This will yield the list shown in the second column above;

Step 3: Select the entire list; Use **Library Number** and the list will be renumbered correctly.

Using this procedure eliminates the need to go back and manually renumber a list because something has been either added to or deleted from it. This procedure will work either on complete documents or on only the section of the document that you have selected. For example, if you only want to number or renumber a list in the middle of a long document, select only that section and nothing else will be affected by this procedure.

> Note: This procedure does not work in the **Column Select** mode (**Shift F6**), making it impossible to renumber a section of a table without moving it to the left margin. To move a section like this, make as many blank lines beneath the table as the section you need to number. Then use the **Column Select F6** to 1) select the section; 2) delete it with the **Del** key; 3) move the highlight to the first blank line; and 4) insert the section with the **Ins** key. Now, perform the procedure for numbering the section, cut and paste the section back to its original position, and delete the blank lines.

SEARCHING FOR HARD PAGE BREAKS

If you have inserted hard page breaks while editing a file, they can make the process of repagination more time-consuming since you need to confirm each page break. In some documents, these hard page breaks need to be kept, but in others it is easier to repaginate without them. This tip tells how to delete all the hard page breaks from a document so the repagination process is more flexible.

You can search for the hard page breaks by using the **Search** command and telling WORD to search for **Ctrl L**. These control codes can't be typed directly by pressing the **Ctrl** key and **L**; they must be typed by using the **Alt** key and the keypad. **Ctrl L** is typed by pressing **Alt** and then the number **12** from the keypad. If you type this directly in WORD's edit mode, you will see a symbol appear briefly before it is converted into a hard page break, but if you type this in the command field of the **Search** command, only the symbol will appear.

You can also do this in the **REPLACE text:** field of the **Replace** command, making it possible to replace all hard page breaks with nothing entered in the **with text:** field, which is the same as deleting them.

WORKING WITH WORD'S NON–PRINTING SYMBOLS

It is important to keep in mind that the non–printing symbols are also characters in your file, forming a very important part of the text that you are editing. Being able to manipulate these symbols can be a time saver and eliminate some tedious editing tasks. This section will deal with four non–printing symbols: paragraph markers, new line markers, tabs, and spaces.

Note, first of all, that you can search for and replace **<return>**, **<new line>**, **<tab>**, and **<space>**. This is made possible by replacing them with the corresponding non–printing symbols as shown below:

To Search or Replace:	Type these Symbols:
<return>	**^p**
<new line>	**^n**
<tab>	**^t**
<space>	**spacebar**

Secondly, keep in mind that the **Replace** command works either down through the document from the position of the highlight or only in the section of the document which has been selected by **F6** and the arrow keys or the mouse. This makes it possible to replace without confirming in a small part of the document while leaving the rest of the document untouched.

Working with line breaks

If you load a file from some other word processor into WORD, it's possible that all the lines may end with hard returns. If you want to get rid of these hard returns, follow a procedure like this:

1) Mark all paragraph division returns with a unique character. For example, replace the **<return>** with the sequence **+<return>**. You will most likely want to do this manually, inserting the **+** where you know the paragraph division is;

2) Replace all returns in the document with a **<space>**;

3) Replace all **+<space>** with returns to restore all the paragraph divisions.

Working with tabs

When working with charts or multiple columns of words, you may find the following ideas for working with tabs helpful. This again relies heavily on the **Replace** command. Assume, for example, that you have typed the first of four columns of a chart as follows:

wentru
domo
che
mapu
wenu
ko

The columns of this chart will be separated by tabs, formatted by the **Format Tabs** command. One of the simplest ways to insert the tabs needed in this chart would be to use the following procedure:

1) Select the lines of the chart;

2) Replace the returns with the sequence **<tab> <tab> <tab> <return>** (**REPLACE text: ^p with text: ^t^t^t^p**);

3) Move around in the chart with the arrow keys to insert the rest of the chart.

Try to take advantage of what the **Replace** command can do for you beyond the simple changes. For example, you have decided that a chart needs a tab at the beginning of every line to reformat it. Rather than typing the sequence **<tab>**, **down arrow**, and **Home** for every line, use the **Replace** command to replace every **<return>** in the chart with the sequence **<return><tab>**; this will place a tab at the beginning of each line.

DON'T FORGET ABOUT THE F4 KEY

The **F4** key is perhaps one of the least used, but most powerful features of WORD. This section outlines some ways that the **F4** key can be used to your advantage.

The basic function assigned to the **F4** key on the Function Key Template is **Repeat last edit**. If you delete a character, for example, **F4** will repeat the delete wherever the highlight happens to be. Also, if you insert, **F4** will repeat the insert at the position of the highlight. This is the basic function, which is not very exciting. You may already use the **F4** key to repeat some edits, but perhaps the discussion here will give you some ideas about other ways to use **F4**.

You can use **F4** to repeat the assignment of character formats or paragraph formats. **F4** will repeat the **Format Tab** settings assigned in one paragraph to other paragraphs. One advantage to using **F4** in this way is that it allows you to repeat complicated formats with a minimum of keystrokes rather than going through all the command fields of, for example, the **Format Paragraph** menu.

First of all, you need to choose the edit that **F4** will repeat. For example, to assign one paragraph's format to another, move the highlight to the already formatted paragraph. Type **<Esc> F P <enter>** to make this WORD's last edit. Now **F4** will repeat this format in any other paragraph or set of paragraphs. This same procedure can also be used with the **Format Character** command.

The basic procedure described above is also useful with the **Format Tabs** command. Rather than resetting all the measurements for a set of tabs, merely press **<Esc> F T S** in the model paragraph with the tab settings you wish to repeat, and **F4** will assign those same tab settings in any other paragraph. This provides a quick way to consistently set tabs when you don't have the settings in a style sheet.

If you are using version 4.0 of WORD, this action will entirely reset any previous tab settings to the ones in the model paragraph. In version 5.0, however, this procedure will merely add the model paragraph's tab settings to any that are present in the new paragraph. In a paragraph without any previous tab settings, however, the model paragraph's settings will be made.

USING MACROS IN WORD

A macro to make word lists in WORD [1]

This section will describe how to write a macro to produce a sorted word list from a text within WORD. This leaves only minimal editing for you to do once the list is completed. To create this macro, first type the bold print text below into WORD. Then select the text with either **F6** and the mouse or the arrow keys, and copy it to the glossary.

Text of word list macro :

«set echo = "off"»
<Esc>r,<tab><Del><tab>n<enter>
<Esc>r.<enter>
<Esc>r^^?<enter>
<Esc>r!<enter>
<Esc>r;<enter>
<Esc>r:<enter>
<Esc>r(<enter>
<Esc>r)<enter>
<Esc>r <tab>^^p<tab>n<enter>
<Esc>r^^p^^p<tab>^^p<tab>n<enter>
<Ctrl F4><Esc>la<enter>

To copy the above text to the glossary, use the **Copy** command from the menu. When the **Copy to** prompt appears, type **wl.mac^<ctrl W>l** for the name of the macro. When you exit from WORD be sure to save the glossary to keep the macro. Unless you specify some other glossary name, WORD will supply the name normal.gly on the default drive.

Now, with your text loaded in a window, press **Ctrl–W–L** and the word list will be made. Punctuation will be deleted, all the words will be made lower case and the list will be sorted.

This macro will perform its actions only on the highlighted text. If you want an entire document made into a word list, select it all with **Shift F10** before using the macro. If all you need is a paragraph in the middle of a longer document, select only that paragraph and the macro will work on only that paragraph, leaving the rest of the document untouched. (Editor's note: The highlight should start with the first word of a paragraph or you will get some strange results!)

A macro to remove duplicates from a sorted list

The macro to be discussed in this section will sort a list and remove all the duplicates from it. This can be used following the macro described above to automate the removal of identical words. This macro operates on an entire file. Sections of a file can be cut and pasted to another window, processed, and then returned to the file.

The text of the macro is as follows:

```
«set echo = "off"»
<Shift F10>
<Esc>la<enter>
<Ctrl pgup>«while selection <> ""»
<Shift F9><Del><Ins>
<Shift F9>«WHILE selection=scrap»<del>
<Shift F9>«ENDWHILE»«ENDWHILE»
<Ctrl pgup>
```

In order to use this macro, you must follow the instructions given in the previous section for copying the text of the macro to the glossary. When the **Copy to** prompt appears, type **dupe.mac^<Ctrl D>m** for the name of the macro. The macro is now ready to use.

Combining these two macros

The following macro text combines the sort macro and the macro which deletes duplicates. It is possible to use this macro on a small section of text in the middle of a large document. You may notice that the macro inserts a "check mark" at the beginning of the highlighted section; this is necessary for the sorting process and will be deleted by the macro when it finishes.

```
«set echo = "off"»«pause Put highlight at beginning of text to sort,
press Enter when done»
 <enter><left 2><F6>«pause Place highlight at end of text to sort,
press Enter when done»
<Esc>r,<tab><Del><tab>n<enter>
<Esc>r.<enter>
<Esc>r^^?<enter>
<Esc>r!<enter>
<Esc>r;<enter>
<Esc>r:<enter>
<Esc>r(<enter>
<Esc>r)<enter>
<Esc>r <tab>^^p<tab>n<enter>
<Esc>r^^p^^p<tab>^^p<tab>n<enter>
<Ctrl F4><Esc>la<enter>
<Home>«while selection <> " ^p"»
<Shift F9><Del><Ins><Shift F9>«WHILE selection=scrap»
<Del><Shift F9>«ENDWHILE»«ENDWHILE»
<Shift F9>«if selection = " ^p"»
<Del>«endif»
<Home>
```

NOTES

[1] These macros should only be used with version 5.0 of WORD. ■

Report on the 29th Conference on American Indian Languages

New Orleans, LA
Nov. – Dec. 1990

by Thomas Payne

The 29th Conference on American Indian Languages (CAIL) was held as a subconference within the American Anthropological Association (AAA) convention in New Orleans from Nov. 29 to Dec. 3, 1990. The second part of this report will deal with the CAIL, as the CAIL sessions were the ones I attended most consistently. Firstly, however, I will present my overall impressions of the AAA meetings and some of the discussions that went on outside the CAIL sessions.

The AAA is a huge, multifaceted convention, with up to 26 sessions occurring simultaneously. This year over 2000 anthropologists and other interested scholars attended. Session topics ranged from Aboriginal Australia to Zooarcheology, and included such esoteric topics as Alternative States of Consciousness and Hair Loss.

This year there was a major shake–up in the program administration when the program chairpersons summarily cancelled or unfavorably rescheduled all sessions having to do with areas of anthropology that were not their own. This included sessions on Feminist Anthropology, Marxist Anthropology, Humanist Anthropology, the Anthropology of Black Americans, Linguistic Anthropology, American Indian Anthropology, and anything having to do with "text", "discourse", or "interpretation". This disaster affected fully 30% of the sessions All ten CAIL sessions were scheduled for the last day, many of them overlapping.

The uproar was immediate and intense. The Association administration had to take charge of the situation and reform the program at the last minute. The program chairs resigned and the President apologized profusely to the entire Association. It struck me as incredible that anything as bizarre as this could happen within such an important and respected organization as the AAA. It just reminded me again of how academia, and our society in general, is

losing a sense of dignity and responsibility. We are all susceptible to the political machinations of a few who would use their position and influence in perverse ways.

The maneuver caused the organizers of the CAIL to rethink their relationship to the AAA. In the next two years there will be discussion and possibly a vote within the Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages of the Americas (the organization that sponsors CAIL) on whether to remain associated with the AAA, to attach to the LSA, or to go completely independent. Many argue that for the CAIL to break away from the AAA would be tantamount to saying that descriptive linguistics is not part of anthropology. This would be a very serious shift in the way anthropology and linguistics have always perceived themselves, and so will undoubtedly engender much debate.

Now, on to the content of the CAIL sessions themselves. This year the conference returned to the tradition of organizing the sessions according to geographic and genetic groupings. There were sessions on Muskogean and Siouan languages, Algonquian and Iroquoian languages, South American languages, Californian languages, Eskimo, Athabaskan and Northwest languages, Southwest languages, Mayan and Chibchan languages, Mayan discourse, and Mesoamerican languages. There was also a special session in memory of Florence Voegelin.

All of the sessions dealt primarily with descriptive or comparative issues. There were a few papers that applied formal models to descriptive questions. For example, George A. Broadwell's paper insightfully applied Binding theory to the placement and behavior of certain evidentials in Santa Ana del Valle Zapotec. Broadwell describes evidentiality in some languages as a functional category appearing in COMP and in other languages as a "feature" attached to other functional categories, but having no syntactic locus of its own. Evidentials in Muskogean languages are functional categories, whereas in Zapotec they are features. This proposal struck me as intuitively correct. The obvious direction for future research on this issue is to determine which operations tend to get realized as functional categories and which ones tend to get realized as features. If a pattern is discovered the important theoretical question would be, "Why this pattern and not some other?" ■

Checklist for Writing Book Reviews

Translation by Dwight Day

The following is a translated excerpt from an article which appeared in the Brazilian journal *Ciência e Cultura* 37(1), in January, 1985. The author, Francisco Gomes de Matos, is a professor of Letters and Psychology at the Federal University of Pernambuco in Brazil. He solicited suggestions from his graduate students for a checklist of questions for the evaluation of an academic book review. He and his group came up with the following list:

Quantitative aspects of the book

1. How many parts does the book consist of? How many chapters?
2. What is the length of chapters or chapter sections?
3. Which section or chapter is longest?
4. How many exercises does the book contain (if the book has "theory and practice" sections)?
5. How many exercises are challenging? Trivial?
6. How many appendices are there? How many indexes? (by author or topic?)
7. How many tables or illustrations does the book have?
8. How many items are there in the bibliography? How many such items are from other countries?
9. What is the time range of the bibliography? How many recent articles are included?
10. How many quotes does the book use? A reasonable or exaggerated number?
11. What authors are most quoted?
12. How many articles from specialized magazines are quoted? National? From other countries?
13. How many overlong, difficult-to-comprehend paragraphs does the book have?
14. How many research projects are mentioned?
15. How many key concepts are included?

16. What technical terms are used (related to concepts presented)?

Analysis of qualitative aspects

1. Is there an attention-capturing opening paragraph?
2. What is the author's thesis or central idea?
3. What is the author's objective? Why did he write the book? What is its desired effect?
4. What ideas undergird the author's thesis?
5. What ideas serve the author's objective?
6. What types of factual evidence (e.g., scientific, historical, statistical) are presented?
7. Does the author also rely on expert opinion?
8. Are the examples used generic or specific?
9. Is the work marked by clear, logical and consistent organization?
10. What is the organizational pattern of the book? Is it divided into parts? Chapters? Theory and practice? Problems for solution or discussion?
11. Is the tone of the writer too formal? Too informal? Too Personal? Right for the projected reader? Why?
12. What are the strong and weak points of the author's argument(s)? Does he anticipate possible objections?
13. Are the concepts and terminology precise?
14. Is the bibliography limited for the author's efficient use?
15. Does the article observe relevant technical standards (as of a widely recognized stylesheet)?
16. Who will benefit by reading the article? Why?
17. How does the work compare with similar works?
18. How coherent are the chapters?
19. How does the balance between the virtues and faults of the book come out? (Remember the "principle of magnanimity": you could be in the author's place).
20. Are the conclusions convincing, strong, and memorable? Why?

Note: The author would like to thank the Brazilian Association for the Advancement of Science for granting permission to publish this translation. ■

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Edited by John B. Carroll. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press. 1988. (18th printing). 278 pp.

Reviewed by Alan S. Kaye

The idea that a person's native language "colors" his *Weltanschauung* has been around for quite some time and has found advocates in various disciplines. The American philosopher Charles Sanders Pierce (1839–1914) postulated that man's symbolic universe could only make sense via language, which he in turn defined as semiotic, his term for a system of signs. Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), the father of modern linguistics, in *Cours de Linguistic Général* (1916:155), stated that: "No ideas are established in advance, and nothing is distinct, before the introduction of linguistic structure." However, the principle of linguistic relativity has become largely associated with Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941), who along with Edward Sapir (1884–1939), his linguistic mentor at Yale University, used modern linguistic concepts to advocate their positions that language influences the way a speech community conceives of its reality.

Part of the groundwork for this hypothesis was laid by Whorf's work as a fire insurance investigator. During his career, he had the opportunity to analyze many reports as to why fires broke out in factories. He found that workers would use extreme caution when around "full" drums of gasoline. Just as one would expect, workers were careful not to smoke around "full" drums. Yet, these same workers when around "empty" drums of gasoline would often toss lit cigarettes nearby. This caused a violent explosion because an empty drum still contained volatile gasoline vapor. Thus, an "empty" drum was really much more of a threat than a "full" one. Using these data, Whorf concluded that the meanings of certain words had an effect on a person's behavior.

It was the research of both Sapir and Whorf into the grammatical systems of many American Indian languages, however, that proved to have the greatest impact on this hypothesis. By predicting their

insights into the interrelationships of language and culture on what they had learned from the structures of these so-called "exotic" languages, the basic idea of language shaping the perceptions of its speakers and providing for them a vehicle so that their experiences and emotions can be placed into significant categories was given scientific underpinnings. Generally, Sapir is credited as giving the problem of establishing the link between language and culture its initial formulation (continuing in the tradition of Johann Gottfried Herder, 1744–1803, and Wilhelm von Humbolt, 1762–1835) while Whorf is honored as the one who took this idea and developed it into a bona fide theory. Hence, the resultant supposition is commonly given the designation the "Whorfian hypothesis." Some, pointing to Sapir's preeminent stature as a linguist, prefer the appellation as the "Sapir–Whorf hypothesis." When viewed in terms of output, though, one could counter that a more appropriate label would be the "Whorf–Sapir hypothesis."

A rather interesting development in this debate over giving credit where credit is due has been the attempt to disassociate Sapir with the hypothesis entirely. Desirous of preventing the image of the great *maestro* Sapir from being tarnished by the taint of controversy, some, most notably Alfred L. Kroeber, have claimed that Edward Sapir's views are not really that pro-Wharfian. This viewpoint is not borne out by an examination of Sapir's own writings. For example, as one can plainly see in the following passage written in 1929 (from the journal *Language*, p. 209), there can be no doubt that Sapir's position was fundamentally one which equated language with culture and thinking. In Sapir's words:

> Language is a guide to "social reality"... it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection... No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality... We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.

There are really two different yet related versions of the Whorfian hypothesis. This is understandable when one considers that Whorf did all of his professional writing in the rather short period from 1925 until his untimely death in 1941, and his ideas, quite naturally, were continuously evolving. The strong version of the hypothesis, which is called linguistic determinism, holds that language determines thinking, or as Stuart Chase says in the foreword (p. vi): "All higher levels of thinking are dependent on language." This position is most difficult to defend primarily because translation between one language and another is possible, and "thinking" can take place without language at all. To illustrate, an artist can and often does think with his fingers.

Mirroring Sapir's thoughts as mentioned above, Whorf notes in his 1940 article *Science and Linguistics*, from *The Technological Review*, reprinted in this book: "We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages... We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significance as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way— an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language" (p. 213).

The milder version of the Whorfian hypothesis is labeled "linguistic relativity." This states that our native language **influences** our thoughts or perceptions. In fact, it was Whorf who coined the phrase "linguistic relativity." In the article *Linguistics as an Exact Science*, published in *The Technological Review* (reprinted herein), Whorf commented:

> ...what I have called the "linguistic relativity principle," which means, in informal terms, that users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world (p. 221).

Linguistic relativity can be illustrated with several examples. One of Whorf's favorite sources of data was the Hopi language, a member of the Uto–Aztecan family, still spoken in Arizona. With the exception of birds, there is in Hopi only one word for everything that flies. Thus, a butterfly and a jet are denoted by the same term. Or consider an Arab nomad living in the Sahara desert and a camel. Bedouin Arabic dialects have more than 6,000 different words for

various kinds of camels. To Bedouins, it is not just a camel, but a specific type dependent upon its particular physical state.

Perhaps the most incontrovertible piece of evidence in favor of linguistic relativity comes from the realm of numbers and numerals. Some Australian aboriginal and African languages (e.g. Hottentot, also known as Nama) only have words for the numerals "one" and "two" and a word roughly translatable as "many" for three or more. Thus, such concepts as -1, $(n-1)$, 10^{16}, or googolplex are beyond everyday expression in these languages. Obviously, arithmetic or mathematics as we in the West know it is not possible. This is not to say that the ability of Australian aborigines or Africans to count and to add or subtract is any different from native speakers of languages that contain words for these numerical notions. What I am suggesting, though, is that they have to learn a foreign language in which to do this because their respective mother tongues simply do not presently allow them the means to accomplish this. As Edward Sapir put it, these people are "at the mercy of" their native tongues. However, since languages are continuously changing, there is no way to predict if this absence of numerical terminology will continue.

The subject matter of the interrelationships between language and culture is never dull. I have always enjoyed discussing Whorf's writings with beginning as well as advanced students. In my university courses in "Language and Culture," anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics, I have used the book presently undergoing review as a required textbook many times. Whorf had a certain elegance about him as a writer, and everyone owes it to himself or herself to tackle him on their own terms rather than be content to read someone's second-hand commentary.

The book opens with an exciting "Foreword" and an informed and perceptive introduction by psycholinguist John B. Carroll, who worked with Whorf as a young student in the 1930s. The heart of the book is the 18 articles by Whorf. Included is a letter to Dr. Horace English from 1927 called *On the Collection of Ideas*, which inquired about English's dictionary of psychological terms. This is followed by Whorf's unpublished 1927 manuscript, *On Psychology* (published in this volume for the first time in 1956). It demonstrates Whorf's negative feelings towards all schools of psychology at the time. On the subject of psychoanalysis, e.g., he noted (p. 42): "It is too heavily

stamped with the signature of its founder, Freud, as an erratic genius with a faculty of apperceiving deep but obscure truths, and is notion-obsessed and cluttered with weird dogma."

One of my favorite papers in the collection is the undated, handwritten manuscript *A Linguistic Consideration of Thinking in Primitive Communities*. Here it is shown that the problem of "thinking" by so-called "primitive" peoples is "approachable through linguistics" (p. 65). Further, as linguists have come to fully appreciate only fairly recently, Whorf maintained that "linguistics is essentially the quest of MEANING" (p. 73). Example after example is given of things which are relatively easy to say in Hopi but awkward or clumsy to say in such Standard-Average-European languages as English, Spanish, German, etc. The term SAE was of Whorf's own invention. While I cannot agree with Whorf's conclusion that the Hopi language reveals a "higher plane of thinking" as that would be tantamount to saying that some languages can somehow be "better" than others, this paper is nonetheless thought-provoking.

In the classic *An American Indian Model of the Universe*, originally published in the (1950) *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Whorf argues that since there is neither an explicit nor an implicit reference to time in the Hopi language and thus no tense for its verbs, according to the Hopi view of the world "time disappears and space is altered" (p. 58). Many of the other papers in the volume (*Grammatical Categories*, *The Punctual and Segmentative Aspects of Verbs in Hopi*, *Discussion of Hopi Linguistics*, *Some Verbal Categories of Hopi* and *Linguistic Factors in the Terminology of Hopi Architecture*) present the data for Whorf's basic contention that Hopi metaphysics, which underlie its cognition, is different from our own; i.e., the Hopi calibrate the world differently because their language defines experience differently for them. As more information has surfaced about Hopi, some of Whorf's specific grammatical points have not withstood the test of time, but that is to be expected. However, the gist of Whorf's argument that the Hopi, indeed all of us, are captives of their native language remains valid.

In the last paper of the volume (published in India a year after Whorf's death), *Language, Mind, and Reality*, Whorf explains the "obviative" in Algonkian languages. It is in essence two third persons

(p. 265), one of which we traditionally refer to as the fourth person. Whorf writes (Ibid.):

> This aids in compact description of complicated situations, for which we should have to resort to cumbersome phraseology. Let us symbolize their third and fourth persons by attaching the numerals 3 and 4 to our written words. The Algonkins might tell the story of William Tell like this: "William Tell called his$_3$ son and told him$_4$ to bring him$_3$ his$_3$ bow and arrow..."

Even after all these years, he is right that (Ibid.) "such a device would greatly help in specifying our complex legal situations, getting rid of 'the party of the first part'...," 'the party of the second part,' the 'aforementioned,' or the 'aforesaid.' One must, however, be very cautious not to imply that Algonkian languages are any "better" than English. As the saying goes, it is all relative; for the fact remains that both of these systems work in terms of the languages and cultures to which they ultimately are connected.

Whichever end of the continuum one considers in the relationship between language and culture, it is important to realize the interpenetration of the two. In areas like bilingualism, is it really possible to learn a foreign language without simultaneously learning the *Weltanschauung* of its speakers? One well known experiment, which demonstrates that the position of the Whorfian linguistic relativists should not be ignored, was conducted among Japanese wives of American servicemen. By asking these bilingual women exactly the same question in English and Japanese, it was found that their responses differed according to the different cultures associated with these two languages. When asked in Japanese to complete the sentence, "When my family disagrees with me," a typical response was that it was "a time of great unhappiness," whereas the English response was "I do what I want."

This book, which was first published by the M.I.T. Press in 1956, was available in 1952 from the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, D.C. as *Collected Papers on Metalinguistics*. It still has a lot to offer any person interested in language from any one of several perspectives: historical, philosophical, sociological, anthropological, psychological, or linguistic. Whorf is the perfect example of that rare bird, the brilliant amateur, whose work was of greater significance than that of many of his professional Ph.D. contemporaries. For those wishing to go to the fountainhead of the debate over language's

influence on thought and vice versa, Whorf's writings provide a satisfying journey. ■

Bilinguality and Bilingualism. By Josiane Hamers and Michel Blanc. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1989. 324pp. Paperback. (Revision and translation of **Bilingualite et Bilinquisme**, 1983, by same authors.)

Reviewed by Pete Unseth

To define the words in the title, the authors use the term "bilinguality" to refer to "a psychological state of the individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication," the glossary defining 12 subtypes of bilinguality. They define "bilingualism" more in terms of community. In both terms, they refer to more than one language, but not necessarily limiting it to two.

I originally picked up the book for some help with assessing and measuring bilingualism. I am sorry to say that the book makes repeated reference to "compound", "coordinate", and "dominant" bilinguals, but gives no easily implemented ways of assessing these, or other, levels of bilingualism.

On the positive side, I found a broad introduction to many facets of the field that I had never considered, such as how a bilingual may have different degrees of competence in different domains. For example, a person may have a high degree of competence in academic subjects in a second language, but not be able to discuss emotions or world views in that language. As for linguistic trivia, there are many tidbits, such as the bilingual who suffered a brain injury and could no longer compose a sentence of his own in one of his languages, but could verbally interpret into that language.

The book has a number of chapters, clearly labeled, so that a reader can quickly find the material that is most likely to be of interest. There are chapters about "dimensions and measurement of bilinguality and bilingualism", "information processing in the

bilingual", "culture and identity", "bilingual education", "interpretation and translation", etc.

All of the chapters are characterized by a great concern with the empirical validity of experimental data and the desire for formal theories. The lack of reliable data forces the authors to reject certain popular beliefs, such as the belief that second language learning is significantly different after puberty.

Personally, I found the book to be very slow reading; not just because it is very technical, but also because of convoluted sentence structure and lack of punctuation. (Is this an example of what happens in translation?)

The authors are to be highly commended for including a glossary of over 85 terms, with further sub–entries. This, together with an index, 41 pages of bibliography, and a detailed table of contents (which includes titled sections within chapters), makes it easier for the majority of readers who will probably not read the whole book, but will want to find information on specific aspects of bilingualism.

The authors maintain an objective stance on almost every issue, trying to present all sides and rarely stating their own preference. I was very pleased when they took some clear positions in the chapter on bilingual education, saying such things as "the minority child benefits from being introduced to literacy in his mother tongue... Time spent on teaching the mother tongue does not slow down their proficiency in L2" (p. 213).

The authors also spend many pages arguing against "the myth of the bilingual handicap," presenting evidence to the contrary; namely, that under the right conditions (which they specify), a bilingual usually has several cognitive advantages over a monolingual. They also argue that a bilingual is not merely the sum of two monolinguals, but a unique kind of speaker–hearer, a communicator of a different sort.

Libraries, such as SIL schools and many branch libraries, will want a copy of this book. It can be profitably used as a general reference and for course preparation. Also, specific chapters could be assigned for classes in literacy, sociolinguistics, LUMS, language acquisition, translation, etc.

A last word to compliment the artist who designed a cover picture that can appear as one face with one mouth, or two faces with two mouths: bilinguality. ■

Information–based Syntax and Semantics, Volume 1: Fundamentals. (CLSI Lecture Notes Number 13.) By Carl Pollard and Ivan A. Sag. Stanford, CA: Center for the study of Language and Information. 1987.

Reviewed by Michael Maxwell

1. Introduction

Much of the early work done by generative linguists—particularly Noam Chomsky—on the mathematical theory of linguistics later found application to programming languages in the new study of computation. Computer science was slow to repay the debt; research on computer understanding of language often explicitly ignored what linguists had discovered.

While Pollard and Sag (henceforth P&S) do not dwell on those connections in this book, computer science is now paying back some of its debts to linguistics. Two of the concepts shaping the theory of Head–driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) espoused in this book, namely inheritance hierarchies and unification, come from work in artificial intelligence. Readers familiar with Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, Lexical Functional Grammar, or Functional Unification Grammar will notice how those theories have also influenced HPSG.

Nonetheless, for most readers of this volume, the principal interest of HPSG will be in its usefulness for describing and understanding languages, and it is that focus which will predominate in this review. Accordingly, I should dispose of one pseudo–problem from the start: the example sentences illustrating the theory are almost all English. This is because the purpose of the book is didactic, and the readers of the book can be counted on to understand the examples! A theory must, of course, be tested on a variety of languages, and I suggest

below several areas where field linguists are in a particularly good position to put the theory to the test.

2. Overview of the Book

The book consists of eight chapters. A second volume is in preparation, and will cover the topics of long-distance binding, agreement, control and raising.

This book covers syntactic features, semantics (briefly), subcategorization, grammar rules, principles determining constituent order (P&S use linear precedence rules, not the concatenation and wrapping rules of Pollard 1984) and the lexicon. In addition to concepts borrowed from computer science, HPSG shows a debt to several linguistic theories. Like Government Binding theory, grammar rules are of lesser importance in HPSG. As in Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar, features play a central role. As in Lexical Functional Grammar, the lexicon also plays a leading role, and the asymmetry between subject and object is less prominent than in other theories. (In HPSG, unlike most other generative theories, the subject is subcategorized for.)

The book is very well organized and readable. Nevertheless, it lacks an index, which I consider inexcusable.

There are a few typos; those I noticed were all in cross references to examples, the linguist's bane. They are the following: p. 48 (last line), all references to example 90 should be to example 89; p. 139 just above example 264, the reference should be to example (260), not (263); p. 161, last line of text, the reference to (306) should be to (307); p. 207, second paragraph, the reference to (396) should be to (395).

3.0 Evaluation

In evaluating this book, I will be looking at it from two viewpoints: first, the adequacy of the theory; and second, the usefulness of the theory to field linguists. Those readers whose interests run to the practical may skip the theoretical discussion.

3.1 Theoretical Adequacy

It is becoming more difficult to evaluate the adequacy of a theory for describing language, at least at the level of observational adequacy. This is a good sign: most major competitors can account for most (not all) structures known in languages. The competition is now in the arena of descriptive and explanatory adequacy.

And so with HPSG, the question is not so much whether the theory can treat all the structures of natural language, but how insightful the treatment is. In the next two sections, I will discuss two sorts of problems: problematical analyses arising from inadequacies of the theory, and problematical analyses of particular facts. The reader should bear in mind that this book presents only a portion of the theory; detailed discussion of agreement, control, raising and binding remain for volume II.

3.2 Theory-internal Questions

A theory that relies heavily on features needs a theory of possible features. Such a theory should provide a finite set of well-defined features. (Alternatively, the theory must explain how the language learner hypothesizes new features.) P&S do provide a list of syntactic features for English, but leave the question of a universal set open (p. 59). This is unfortunate, albeit perhaps necessary at this stage.

An oddity of the English feature set given by P&S is that every fully instantiated category is marked for every feature. For instance, the feature AUX(iliary), which differentiates auxiliary verbs from other verbs. Since this feature is irrelevant to non-verbs, all words which are non-verbs are marked [-AUX]. This can be done for all non-verbs once by a general rule (the lexicon is organized in an inheritance hierarchy, so words of a given class can "inherit" specified properties), but this rule itself is a problem. Unless the rule is universal (which is impossible to say, since there is as yet no proposal for a universal set of features), a language in which nouns, or even all parts of speech except verbs, are marked [+AUX] should be possible. This seems wrong; auxiliaries are surely a type of verb, not a type word in general.

A more telling example is the feature INV(erted), which P&S use for inverted sentences of English (in which the auxiliary verb precedes

the subject: "Did John go?"). But a + value of this feature is limited to auxiliary verbs (in English; in other Germanic languages any verb can be inverted). It is hard to imagine what this feature could mean on any other part of speech, yet all other words and phrases are marked [–INV]. What is an uninverted noun? Uninverted over what? The feature INV is thus used as an ad hoc way of encoding an exception to normal word order, not to indicate a subclass of auxiliary verbs. I suspect that inversion involves something more than an ad hoc exception to general principles, particularly since inverted order is restricted (in all Germanic languages, and likely in all languages) to root clauses.

Another issue is the use of Linear Precedence Rules. These rules assign (within a given language) a linear order to all daughter categories regardless of the part of speech of the parent (p. 14). Thus, if PPs precede sentential complements inside verb phrases, then PPs should precede Ss inside NPs and APs. Whether this is true or not is an empirical question . Unfortunately, it is not a question that will be easy to answer. What does a sentential complement to a verb correspond to in an NP? To a relative clause? The S'–complement of a noun like *fact*? It is not clear, and P&S do not offer criteria for deciding.

Or consider the fact that NP complements precede PP complements. While this is true in VPs (apart from heavy NP shift, which P&S treat as a marked word order), it is irrelevant inside NPs, for NPs never have NP complements. This does not fall out from the linear precedence constraints, or from anything else in HPSG.

It also remains to test whether linear precedence rules can account for word order in other languages (ergative languages, for instance). Field linguists are in a unique position to contribute to this research, but it will require detailed analysis, including in–depth treatment of variant word orders. (For some examples of non–trivial word order studies, see Brody 1984 and Uszkoreit 1987.)

A related claim which field linguists are in a good position to validate is embodied in the theory of obliqueness. Obliqueness is relevant to word order, control, binding, agreement and the application of lexical rules. While some of P&S's predictions based on obliqueness are English–specific, there is ample room for demonstrating the importance of obliqueness in other languages.

I will mention two other areas which seem problematical for the theory of HPSG. First, there is no distinction between categories that can appear in isolation (e.g. Ss and NPs) and categories only found embedded in other phrases (such as determiners, relative clauses, and small clauses). Second, the restriction of certain constructions to root clauses, which since Emonds (1976) has been an important focus of syntactic theories, is rendered accidental (words that select sentential complements happen to select for the feature [–INV]). While P&S point out that some dialects of English allow inversion in embedded clauses, this is a limited phenomenon and in no way subtracts from the fact that the vast majority of these constructions are limited to root clauses. This is another reason for questioning the INV feature.

3.3 Analysis–specific Questions

In their exposition, P&S present certain analyses of English which are compatible with, but not required by, their theory, or whose change would require but minor modification of the theory. For instance, the order of complements is defined in terms of left–right order. While this works for English, which is essentially a head–first language, it seems odd that a typical head–last language should differ in two factors: the fact that its head is last, and the fact that the order of the head's complements based on obliqueness is the reverse. Both facts would be accounted for by only one assumption if order were instead defined by relative adjacency to the head.

Likewise, the way in which irregular forms block morphological rules from applying to produce regularized forms (e.g. **beed* in place of *was*) is dependent on each morphological rule's individually "returning" the irregular form if it already exists, rather than on some general principle of blocking (p. 213). That defect should be easy to patch up.

A deeper question is that of subject–complement asymmetries. There is a long tradition in linguistics (apart from tagmemics) that the subject of a sentence is a different sort of argument from the direct object and other complements of the verb. Thus, the verb with its complements, but not the subject, form a constituent: the VP. (Auxiliary verbs are treated as taking the VP and perhaps the subject as complements.) In addition, Chomsky (1965) claimed the verb subcategorized its complements, but not the subject. Verbs have

subjects, not by virtue of subcategorization, but by a general phrase structure rule combining an NP with a VP.

P&S do treat the verb with its complements as a constituent, but they do not follow Chomsky with regard to subcategorization: they view the subject as subcategorized. (But see Borsley 1987 for a version of HPSG in which subjects are not subcategorized).

I will not argue this point here, but I will say that it is another area where field linguists can help determine the theory. For instance, a prediction of a theory allowing subcategorization of subjects is that some languages will allow (or even require) subjects that are not NPs. (It has been claimed that certain English verbs subcategorize sentential subjects, but the facts are far from clear.) Are there languages with PP subjects? I doubt it, but field linguists are in the best position to say.

On the other hand, if there is no subcategorization of subjects, what of the verbs that obligatorily lack subjects? Weather verbs in some languages are an example. To my knowledge, such verbs are restricted to languages lacking dummy subjects (a dummy subject is a word like *it* in the sentence "It is raining"). Such a restriction is not predicted by a theory allowing subcategorization of subjects (although how it would be accounted for under the contrary assumption awaits a theory of dummy subjects). Again, field linguists are in a good position to clarify the issues.

3.4 So What?

Of what value to a field linguist, then, is another theory of syntax?

If a linguist is simply interested in giving a prose description of a language he thinks he already understands, there is probably little value. But for the linguist trying to understand how a language works, there is much value in a theory, for it forces him to ask questions.

How can one determine the constituency of a phrase, for instance? As I alluded to above, field linguists often analyze a VP as consisting of the lexical verb and any auxiliary verbs. But given a theory like HPSG, a VP instead consists of the verb and its arguments. If this is correct, other things should follow. For instance, when a VP moves,

it should take with it its arguments (c.f. "I thought that Mickey would like it, and *like it* he does!"). Likewise, one might expect VPs that contain only the verb and its arguments, not VPs containing main and auxiliary verbs without any of the main verb's arguments. Expecting such constructions, one can look for them; without such expectations, one is more likely to overlook the construction if it is not common. This is the value of being forced to ask questions; one may not find the data unless one asks the right questions. And the right theory (or even a theory that is partly correct) can force one to ask the right questions.

A theory can also serve as an outline to organize facts around. Without such an outline, the facts are overwhelming; with an outline, one can see the pattern.

Given that theories can be useful to the field linguist, how does HPSG compare to other theories? This is a more difficult question. An HPSG grammar will have a few rules, and much of the information one commonly expects in a language description hides in the interaction among rules, lexical entries, feature systems and universal principles. In writing a grammar of a particular language with such a theory, the problems are not with the individual rules or the lexical entries, but rather with the interaction among these. Even apparently minor changes have large repercussions for the grammar as a whole. I doubt whether one could easily write an HPSG grammar of even a fragment of a language without using a computer to model the grammar and to follow the interactions.

I would like to suggest a different use of the theory expounded in this book. If I may misquote John F. Kennedy, I would say, "Ask not what the theory can do for you, but ask what you can do for the theory." HPSG makes interesting claims, some of which I outlined above. What is lacking is cross–language evidence to support (or refute) those claims; and field linguists are in a unique position to provide the evidence. Unfortunately, such evidence will not come from grammar sketches, for most linguistic theories are too sophisticated to be disproven by isolated facts. The evidence needed comes only from detailed investigation aimed at particular questions. In the process, the field linguist is likely to uncover aspects of the language which he would have found in no other way. And thus will the theory repay the linguist.

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Children in the New Testament: A linguistic and historical analysis. By Thomas M. Tehan. MI: University Microfilms International. 1988. 296pp.

Reviewed by Howard W. Law

The purpose of Tehan's University of Kansas 1980 master's thesis was to investigate how children were depicted in the New Testament.

An introduction briefly treats first, the rationale for searching for the Bible's perspective on children; second, the literature in the field; third, the scholarly context of the study; and fourth, the methodology used in the study.

The four chapters present an analysis of the New Testament vocabulary used in reference to children. This is accomplished using (1) componential analysis and etymological research, (2) the cultural context in which the terms for children are found, (3) the conceptions of children, and, (4) the implications for parents, schools, and society. Two appendixes provide the actual passages and a list of words relating to children, giving the transliteration, Greek form, gloss, and number of occurrences. A bibliography of more than 100 reference

For corrections, see page inserted as (ERIC) page 202.

works, historical sources, lexicons, and linguistic articles is also provided.

Chapter 1 contains four subsections: (1) the Prologue, (2) the Literature, (3) the Scholarly Context, and (4) the Methodology. In the Prologue Tehan claims that

> "to understand fully the origin and character of contemporary American attitudes and actions toward children, it will be useful, if not necessary, to determine how children are depicted in the Bible."

He then states two reasons why the Bible's perspective on children ought to be investigated, i.e.: (1) the Bible has been a major source of values in the American society, and (2) it continues to be a major influence on many Americans today, being often quoted in public debate on children.

Four basic disciplines provide a context for the investigation: (1) educational foundations, (2) the history of childhood, (3) anthropology, and (4) linguistics.

Briefly outlined in section 4 of chapter 1, and described and applied in detail in chapter 2, the methodology is the use of componential analysis and etymological research of Greek terms in the New Testament for children and related terms. Chapter 4 examines these Greek terms in their biblical contexts. The author's somewhat modest goal is to ascertain "the most accurate English equivalents to the biblical words."

Chapter 3 presents the conditions in the Jewish and Gentile cultures which most affect the New Testament authors. This includes a survey of the relevant political and ethnological backgrounds, a detailed description of the Jewish context regarding the Jewish family and the role of children by age group, a comparably detailed and similar description of the Gentile family, and a brief concluding section entitled *A Picture of Childhood in Jewish and Gentile Cultures.*

Chapter 4 treats the New Testament concepts of children, discussing all the passages that "mention or allude to children and focus on expectations concerning children in family groups." This is accomplished in terms of a set of three historical eras, each with its own characteristics related to children, viz., the Palestinian, the Pauline, and the "organized church" periods.

After a brief introduction, chapter 5 treats three areas: (1) implications for parents and children, (2) implications for schools and societies, and (3) opportunities for additional research.

The potential contribution from this work by Tehan is considerable: its primary goal was to provide information and help to educators, and that it can certainly do. It also has a potential for Christian educator researchers and writers. A third area is that of Bible translation providing a deeper understanding of the Greek terms and their meanings.

For linguists and Bible translators, the value comes largely in the second chapter. In this chapter componential analysis is defined as "a method for discovering the minimally necessary contrasting features to distinguish each word and finding how these features may be structured."

For example, a chart on page 19 shows the relationship of "some groups within mankind." Specifically, a child is either kin to other people or kin-neutral. If the child is kin-neutral, the Greek term is *pais*. If, on the other hand, the child is kin, the Greek term is *teknon*. Children who are in the *teknon* group are included in the nuclear family (*oikos*), which in turn is included in the extended family (*genos*), which in turn is included in the kin group (**gen*-), which in turn is included in the tribe (*phule*). However, children who are kin-neutral are only members of the mankind group (*anthropos*), along with the tribe (*phule*), the other member of the mankind group.

Such information for each Greek term for a child helps select the appropriate term from the second language, and also helps understand the relationship of other terms related to the one under study. In this way translators can improve their translations in the area of semantic domains and terms. ■

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ERRATA

Correction to *Constraints on Relevance, a Key to Particle Typology* by Regina Blass, in NOL #48

Examples (18), (19), (20) and (21)a on pages 16–17 (NOL 48) were badly garbled making them unintelligible. We apologize to the author and to our readers for this error. Thanks to Gillian Hansford for calling this to our attention.

(18) *A mʊ́ré mʊ́mʊ́ré ré a pʊ́ŋsé má.*
we told stories IM and written also
'We have told stories and also written.'

(19) a. *Zimpaalé Kiele bio ní*
Zimpaale Dagaati child is
'Zimpaale is a Dagaati.'

b. *Má ŋ ʊ̀ʊ́ rí yá*
also I know–him IM PT
'Indeed (he is), I know him.'

(20) a. *Ií gbé, vʊ̀ kó rʊ́ sʊl rá né*
perhaps, he–IPF come that–he ask us EM
'Perhaps, he is coming to ask us.'

b. *má ʊ die má kúó*
also he yesterday also come

rírá fa pa cɛrɛ ná
that–we should collect wood the

'After all, he came yesterday also
to ask us to collect wood for him.'

(21) a. *Ʊv de ná moŋgo a de dí dí*
If–he F see mango and F eat eat
'If he sees mangoes, he eats and eats.'

Ʊ waá já rʊ́ ta.
he not–IPF want that–he stop.
'He doesn't want to stop.'

■

ERRATA

Correction to *A Typology of Causatives, Pragmatically Speaking* by Nancy Bishop, in NOL #49

Examples 8 and 9 on page 34 (NOL 49) were mislabeled. We apologize to our readers and to the author for this error. Thanks to Pete Unseth for calling this to our attention.

8) DIRECT: Blackfoot, U.S. & Canada

nitsiikstakiipiaawa	nitana	mamiiksi
I–count–intro–cause–ANT	**my daugher–ANT**	**fish–pl**

'I made my daughter count the fish.'

9) INDIRECT: Blackfoot, U.S. & Canada

nitsiikstakiattsaawa	nitana	mamiiksi
I–count–intro–cause–ANT	**my daughter–ANT**	**fish–pl**

'I had my daughter count the fish.' (by some intermediary means)
(Frantz 1971:66) ■

ERRATA

Comment on *The Indians Do Say Ugh–Ugh!* by Howard Law, in NOL #48

From Randy Valentine

This article contains a fair amount of Ojibwe (a.k.a. Chippewa) data. It appears that a typographical catastrophe has occurred, in that long vowels do not appear in the text, but rather each long vowel is followed by a space. Perhaps some diacritic was deleted.

I note also that this orthography fails to represent the important distinction between alveolar and alveopalatal fricatives, which in the practical orthography widely in use among the Chippewas are rendered as *s* and *z* versus *sh* and *zh*. There are also other transcription errors. The following list contains the correct transcriptions for the data presented. Double vowels indicate phonemic long vowels, e.g., *ii*, *oo* and *aa* are all long vowels, while *i*, *o* and *a* are short. *e* is phonemically long, but represented with a single letter since it has no short counterpart in Ojibwe.

niswi	miskoziwag	niiz	makadewiziwag,	midaswi	ozawiwag,
three	they.are.red	two	they.are.black	ten	they.are.brown

miinawaa	bezig	waabiskizi	eyaawagwaa.[1]
also	one	he.is.white	(that).I.have.them.

animosh (–ag)	dog
zhingos (–ag)	weasel
waagosh (–ag)	fox
giigoonh[2] *(–yag)*	fish
nika (–g)	goose
gaag (–wag)	porcupine
ikwe (–wag)	woman

awenen	who?(sing.)
awenenag	who?(pl.)

nindayaawaag	*animosag*
I.have.them	dogs.(animate)

nindayaanan	*anitiin*
I.have.them	spears.(inanimate)
awenenag	*ongo?*
who.(plural)	these.(anim.prox.plural)
awenenag	*ingiw?*
who	those.(anim.dist.plural)

wiisiniwag	They are eating.
abiwag	They are at home.
aye koziwag	They are tired.
anokiiwag	They are working.
bimose wag	They are walking.
ayaawag	They are. They exist.
baapiwag	They are laughing.
biindige wag	They are entering.
aakoziwag	They are sick.
giiwe wag	They are returning.
gitiminag	They are lazy.
namadabiwag	They are sitting.
bimibatoowag	They are running.

Editor's note: There were indeed typographical errors in our printing of this article. We apologize to the author and to our readers for this oversight.

NOTES

[1] Law has eyaawagwaag, i.e., a final *-g* on this form. If this is correct, it departs from other Ojibwe dialects.

[2] Final *-nh* indicates nasalization of preceding vowel. ■

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Coordinator's Corner

Wouldn't most field workers like to have a simple, friendly computer program with the power to do anything they wanted it to do? The suite of articles by Evan Antworth and Gary Simons, *Introduction to Two-Level Phonology* and *Computing in Linguistics: A Two-Level Process for Morphological Analysis*, aren't quite what one would call simple, but they do represent strides toward increasing the power of some programs. These two articles introduce the PC-KIMMO computer program and are intended to be read as a pair.

John Verhaar's article, *On Ambiguity: A Diary Entry* won't require you to have a technical mind at all. It is lighthearted but invites the reader to ponder some interesting issues. Join the writer as he examines the way ambiguity is sometimes treated in linguistic descriptions.

Tom Payne's article, *Handling Language Data: Excerpts from a Field Manual*, explains the foundations of evolving field manuals whose purpose is data gathering and research. Read *News from the 1990-91 Meeting of the LSA* on page 34 first, though. The content of that announcement serves as an excellent background for reading Tom's article. What the LSA wants most from people like us is good, solid language information, of the sort that the average field linguist is best qualified to provide.

Our offerings in the *Review* section of this issue are particularly interesting. *Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure* by Balton and Kroch is reviewed by Mike Maxwell, who gives the reader an excellent overview of linguistic theory and suggests some ways to dig in and contribute. Charles Peck reviews Peter Howard Fries' *Toward an Understanding of Language: Charles Carpenter Fries and Perspective*. This book reveals what a fascinatingly comprehensive individual Charles Fries was. When it comes to understanding language, Charles Fries shows why it can be worthwhile to stick to some important insights that the rest of the world has discarded. Barbara Hollenbach in her review of Joe Grimes' book *Sentence Initial Devices*, and Dwight Day in his review of *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America* help us to grab the heart of those publications. A review isn't a substitute for reading a book, but it can be both beneficial and enlightening to get at least that much exposure to current literature in linguistics!

– Eugene Loos

Introduction to Two–level Phonology

by Evan L. Antworth

Two–level phonology[1] is a linguistic tool developed by computational linguists. Its primary use is in systems for natural language processing such as PC–KIMMO, a program recently published by SIL (Antworth 1990). This article describes the linguistic and computational basis of two–level phonology.

Computational and linguistic roots

As the fields of computer science and linguistics have grown up together during the past several decades, they have each benefited from cross–fertilization. Modern linguistics has been especially influenced by the formal language theory that underlies computation. The most famous application of formal language theory to linguistics was Chomsky's (1957) transformational generative grammar. Chomsky's strategy was to consider several types of formal languages to see if they were capable of modeling natural language syntax. He started by considering the simplest type of formal languages, called *finite state* languages. As a general principle, computational linguists try to use the least powerful computational devices possible. This is because the less powerful devices are better understood, their behavior is predictable, and they are computationally more efficient. Chomsky (1957:18ff) demonstrated that natural language syntax could not be effectively modeled as a finite state language; thus he rejected finite state languages as a theory of syntax and proposed that syntax requires the use of more powerful, non–finite state languages. However, there is no reason to assume that the same should be true for natural language phonology. A finite state model of phonology is especially desirable from the computational point of view, since it makes possible a computational implementation that is simple and efficient.

While various linguists proposed that generative phonological rules could be implemented by finite state devices (see Johnson 1972, Kay 1983), the most successful model of finite state phonology was developed by Kimmo Koskenniemi, a Finnish computer scientist. He

called his model two-level morphology (Koskenniemi 1983). His use of the term morphology should be understood to encompass both what linguists would consider morphology proper (the decomposition of words into morphemes) and phonology (at least in the sense of morphophonemics). Koskenniemi's motivation for developing the two-level model was eminently practical. Finnish is a highly agglutinative language in which words can have thousands of inflected forms. Natural language processing systems for Finnish could get nowhere without first parsing its morphology. This is in contrast to English, whose relatively impoverished inflectional morphology can be handled in an *ad hoc* fashion.

Koskenniemi's two-level model comprises two components:

- a rules component, which contains phonological rules represented as finite state devices, and
- a lexical component, or lexicon, which lists lexical items (indivisible words and morphemes) in their underlying forms, and encodes morphotactic constraints.

The two components work together to perform both generation (production) and recognition (parsing) of word forms.

Our main interest in this article is the phonological formalism used by the two-level model, hereafter called *two-level phonology*. Two-level phonology traces its linguistic heritage to "classical" generative phonology as codified in *The Sound Pattern of English* (Chomsky and Halle 1968). The basic insight of two-level phonology is due to the phonologist C. Douglas Johnson (1972), who showed that the SPE theory of phonology could be implemented using finite state devices by replacing sequential rule application with simultaneous rule application. At its core, then, two-level phonology is a rule formalism, not a complete theory of phonology. The following sections of this article describe the mechanism of two-level rule application by contrasting it with rule application in classical generative phonology. It should be noted that Chomsky and Halle's theory of rule application became the focal point of much controversy during the 1970s with the result that current theories of phonology differ significantly from classical generative phonology. The relevance of two-level phonology to current theory is an important issue, but one that will not be fully addressed here. Rather, the

comparison of two–level phonology to classical generative phonology is done mainly for expository purposes, recognizing that while classical generative phonology has been superseded by subsequent theoretical work, it constitutes a historically coherent view of phonology that continues to influence current theory and practice.

One feature that two–level phonology shares with classical generative phonology is linear representation. That is, phonological forms are represented as linear strings of symbols. This is in contrast to the nonlinear representations used in much current work in phonology, namely autosegmental and metrical phonology (see Goldsmith 1990). On the computational side, two–level phonology is consistent with natural language processing systems that are designed to operate on linear orthographic input.

Two–level rule application

We will begin by reviewing the formal properties of generative rules. Stated succinctly, generative rules are *sequentially ordered rewriting rules*. What does this mean?

First, *rewriting* rules are rules that change or transform one symbol into another symbol. For example, a rewriting rule of the form

$a \rightarrow b$

interprets the relationship between the symbols *a* and *b* as a dynamic change whereby the symbol *a* is rewritten or turned into the symbol *b*. This means that after this operation takes place, the symbol *a* no longer "exists," in the sense that it is no longer available to other rules. In linguistic theory generative rules are known as process rules. Process rules attempt to characterize the relationship between levels of representation (such as the phonemic and phonetic levels) by specifying how to transform representations from one level into representations on the other level.

Second, generative phonological rules apply *sequentially*; that is, one after another, rather than applying simultaneously. This means that each rule creates as its output a new intermediate level of representation. This intermediate level then serves as the input to the next rule. As a consequence, the underlying form becomes inaccessible to later rules.

mode to produce words; it can also be used in recognition direction to parse words.

Two-level rules and declarative representation

Two-level rules are not process rules like generative rules but more like the realization rules of stratificational linguistics. The linguistic opposition between process rules and realization rules is mirrored in computer science in the opposition between imperative and declarative programming. A typical imperative programming language is Pascal, while Prolog is an example of a declarative language. An imperative program is an operation that transforms input data objects into the desired output objects. In contrast, a declarative program merely expresses what must be true of the relationship between the input objects and output objects. When writing an imperative program, the programmer must specify an ordered sequence of commands that the computer will execute in order to arrive at the correct result. But when writing a declarative program, the programmer merely states constraints among the data objects, leaving it up to the computer to figure out what operations are needed to get output that is consistent with the constraints.

A significant consequence of declarative programming is that programs in a declarative language such as Prolog can run bidirectionally. For example, consider the problem of converting Fahrenheit temperatures to Celsius temperatures, and vice-versa. An imperative program that does these operations must contain two separate procedures: one to convert Fahrenheit to Celsius and another to convert Celsius to Fahrenheit. A declarative program, however, will simply state the relationship between Fahrenheit and Celsius equivalents in such a way that a single function can accept as input a Fahrenheit temperature and return as output the Celsius equivalent or accept a Celsius temperature and return a Fahrenheit temperature. Thus many relationships are more appropriately represented by a declarative formalism than an imperative one. Two-level phonology, then, permits phonological rules to be implemented declaratively as static, two-level rules, rather than imperatively as dynamic, process rules.

How a two–level description works

To understand how a two–level phonological description works, we will use the example given above involving Raising and Palatalization. The two–level model treats the relationship between the underlying form *temi* and the surface form *cimi* as a direct, symbol–to–symbol correspondence:

UR: t e m i
SR: c i m i

Each pair of lexical and surface symbols is a *correspondence pair*. We refer to a correspondence pair with the notation *<underlying symbol>:<surface symbol>*, for instance *e:i* and *m:m*. There must be an exact one–to–one correspondence between the symbols of the underlying form and the symbols of the surface form. Deletion and insertion of symbols (explained in detail in the next section) is handled by positing correspondences with zero, a null segment. The two–level model uses a notation for expressing two–level rules that is similar to the notation linguists use for phonological rules. Corresponding to the generative rule for Palatalization (rule 2 above), here is the two–level rule for the *t:c* correspondence:

Palatalization
3. t:c ⇔ __ @:i

This rule is a statement about the distribution of the pair *t:c* on the left side of the arrow with respect to the context or environment on the right side of the arrow. A two–level rule has three parts: the *correspondence*, the *operator*, and the *environment*. The correspondence part of rule 3 is the pair *t:c*, which is the correspondence that the rule sanctions. The operator part of rule 3 is the double–headed arrow. It indicates the nature of the logical relationship between the correspondence and the environment (thus it means something very different from the rewriting arrow → of generative phonology). The ⇔ arrow is equivalent to the biconditional operator of formal logic and means that the correspondence occurs always and only in the stated context; that is, *t:c* is allowed if and only if it is found in the context ___ *@:i*. In short, rule 3 is an obligatory rule. The environment part of rule 3 is everything to the right of the arrow. The long underline indicates the gap where the pair *t:c* occurs. Notice that even the environment part of the rule is specified as two–level correspondence pairs.

The environment part of rule 3 requires further explanation. Instead of using a correspondence such as *i:i*, it uses the correspondence *@:i*. The @ symbol is a special "wildcard" symbol that stands for any phonological segment included in the description. In the context of rule 3, the correspondence *@:i* stands for all the feasible pairs in the description whose surface segment is *i*, in this case *e:i* and *i:i*. Thus by using the correspondence *@:i*, we allow Palatalization to apply in the environment of either a lexical *e* or lexical *i*. In other words, we are claiming that Palatalization is sensitive to a surface (phonetic) environment rather than an underlying (phonemic) environment. Thus rule 3 will apply to both underlying forms *timi* and *temi* to produce a surface form with an initial *c*.

Corresponding to the generative rule for Raising (rule 1 above) is the following two-level rule for the *e:i* correspondence:

Vowel Raising
4. e:i ⇔ __ C:C* @:i

(The asterisk after *C:C** indicates zero or more instances of the correspondence *C:C*.) Similar to rule 3 above, rule 4 uses the correspondence *@:i* in its environment. Thus rule 4 states that the correspondence *e:i* occurs preceding a surface *i*, regardless of whether it is derived from a lexical *e* or *i*. Why is this necessary? Consider the case of an underlying form such as *pememi*. In order to derive the surface form *pimimi*, Raising must apply twice: once before a lexical *i* and again before a lexical *e*, both of which correspond to a surface *i*. Thus rule 4 will apply to both instances of lexical *e*, capturing the regressive spreading of Raising through the word.

Rules 3 and 4, applied in parallel, work in consort to produce the correct output. For example:

UR:	t	e	m	i
Rules:	3	4	|	|
SR:	c	i	m	i

Conceptually, a two-level phonological description of a data set such as this can be understood as follows. First, the two-level description declares an alphabet of all the phonological segments used in the

data in both underlying and surface forms, in the case of our example, *t*, *m*, *c*, *e*, and *i*. Second, the description declares a set *feasible pairs*, which is the complete set of all underlying–to–surface correspondences of segments that occur in the data. The set of feasible pairs for these data is the union of the set of *default correspondences*, whose underlying and surface segments are identical (namely *t:t*, *m:m*, *e:e*, and *i:i*) and the set of *special correspondences*, whose underlying and surface segments are different (namely *t:c* and *e:i*). Notice that since the segment *c* only occurs as a surface segment in the feasible pairs, the description will disallow any underlying form that contains a *c*.

A minimal two–level description, then, consists of nothing more than this declaration of the feasible pairs. Since it contains all possible underlying–to–surface correspondences, such a description will produce the correct output form, but because it does not constrain the environments where the special correspondences can occur, it will also allow many incorrect output forms. For example, given the underlying form *temi*, it will produce the surface forms *temi*, *timi*, *cemi*, and *cimi*, of which only the last is correct.

Third, in order to restrict the output to only correct forms, we include rules in the description that specify where the special correspondences are allowed to occur. Thus the rules function as constraints or filters, blocking incorrect forms while allowing correct forms to pass through. For instance, rule 3 (Palatalization) states that a lexical *t* must be realized as a surface *c* when it precedes *@:i*; thus, given the underlying form *temi* it will block the potential surface output forms *timi* (because the surface sequence *ti* is prohibited) and *cemi* (because surface *c* is prohibited before anything except surface *i*). Rule 4 (Raising) states that a lexical *e* must be realized as a surface *i* when it precedes the sequence *C:C* @:i*; thus, given the underlying form *temi* it will block the potential surface output forms *temi* and *cemi* (because the surface sequence *emi* is prohibited). Therefore of the four potential surface forms, three are filtered out; rules 3 and 4 leave only the correct form *cimi*.

Two–level phonology facilitates a rather different way of thinking about phonological rules. We think of generative rules as processes that change one segment into another. In contrast, two–level rules do not perform operations on segments, rather they state static constraints on correspondences between underlying and surface forms.

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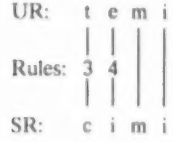

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Two–level phonology facilitates a rather different way of thinking about phonological rules. We think of generative rules as processes that change one segment into another. In contrast, two–level rules do not perform operations on segments, rather they state static constraints on correspondences between underlying and surface forms.

Generative phonology and two-level phonology also differ in how they characterize relationships between rules. Rules in generative phonology are described in terms of their relative order of application and their effect on the input of other rules (the so-called feeding and bleeding relations). Thus the generative rule 1 for Raising precedes and feeds rule 2 for Palatalization. In contrast, rules in the two-level model are categorized according to whether they apply in lexical versus surface environments. So we say that the two-level rules for Raising and Palatalization are sensitive to a surface rather than underlying environment.

With zero you can do (almost) anything

Phonological processes that delete or insert segments pose a special challenge to two-level phonology. Since an underlying form and its surface form must correspond segment for segment, how can segments be deleted from an underlying form or inserted into a surface form? The answer lies in the use of the special null symbol *0* (zero). Thus the correspondence *x:0* represents the deletion of *x*, while *0:x* represents the insertion of *x*. (It should be understood that these zeros are provided by rule application mechanism and exist only internally; that is, zeros are not included in input forms nor are they printed in output forms.) As an example of deletion, consider these forms from Tagalog (where • represents a morpheme boundary):

UR: m a n • b i l i
SR: m a m 0 0 i l i

Using process terminology, these forms exemplify phonological coalescence, whereby the sequence *nb* becomes *m*. Since in the two-level model a sequence of two underlying segments cannot correspond to a single surface segment, coalescence must be interpreted as simultaneous assimilation and deletion. Thus we need two rules: an assimilation rule for the correspondence *n:m* and a deletion rule for the correspondence *b:0* (note that the morpheme boundary • is treated as a special symbol that is always deleted).

Nasal Assimilation
5. n:m ⇔ __ •:0 b:@

Deletion
6. b:0 ⇔ @:m •:0 __.

Notice the interaction between the rules: Nasal Assimilation occurs in a lexical environment, namely a lexical *b* (which can correspond to either a surface *b* or *0*), while Deletion occurs in a surface environment, namely a surface *m* (which can be the realization of either a lexical *n* or *m*). In this way the two rules interact with each other to produce the correct output.

Insertion correspondences, where the lexical segment is *0*, enable one to write rules for processes such as stress insertion, gemination, infixation, and reduplication. For example, Tagalog has a verbalizing infix <*um*> that attaches between the first consonant and vowel of a stem; thus the infixed form of *bili* is *bumili*. To account for this formation with two–level rules, we represent the underlying form of the infix <*um*> as the prefix *U•*, where *U* is a special symbol that has no phonological purpose other than standing for the infix. We then write a rule that inserts the sequence *um* in the presence of *U•*, which is deleted. Here is the two–level correspondence:

UR: U • b 0 0 i l i
SR: 0 0 b u m i l i

and here is the two–level rule, which simultaneously deletes *U* and inserts *um*:

Infixation
7. U:0 ⇔ __ •:0 C:C 0:u 0:m V:V

These examples involving deletion and insertion show that the invention of zero is just as important for phonology as it was for arithmetic. Without zero, two–level phonology would be limited to the most trivial phonological processes; with zero, the two–level model has the expressive power to handle complex phonological or morphological phenomena (though not necessarily with the degree of felicity that a linguist might desire).

Two-level phonology as a linguistic tool

Shieber (1986) describes two classes of linguistic formalisms: linguistic *tools* and linguistic *theories*. A linguistic tool is used to describe natural languages. A linguistic theory, on the other hand, is intended to define the class of possible natural languages. From this point of view, two-level phonology is best regarded as a linguistic tool rather than a theory. Its job is to provide the expressive power needed to describe the phonological phenomena of natural languages. Issues such as characterizing the class of possible natural language phonologies, constraining possible analyses, and evaluating competing descriptions must be resolved by the theory which the tool serves.

As described below, two-level phonology has been used to build PC-KIMMO, a computational system for producing and recognizing words. But PC-KIMMO is not a linguistic theory either (though it is modeled on linguistic concepts), rather it is a practical application for natural language processing. Thus it is inappropriate to compare PC-KIMMO with, say, the theory of Lexical Phonology. However, two-level phonology *per se* is not inconsistent with a theory such as Lexical Phonology. While this article has described the two levels of two-level phonology as corresponding to the underlying and surface levels of classical generative phonology, the general point to understand is that the two levels can actually be any two levels as defined by a certain linguistic theory. For example, Lexical Phonology does not have a single underlying level and a single surface level; rather, the model allows multiple, ordered morphological levels. At each level, morphological rules such as affixation are applied accompanied by the application of the phonological rules relevant to that level (this summary leaves out many important details; for an overview of Lexical Phonology see Kaisse and Shaw 1985 or Kroeger 1990). So on each morphological level, phonological rules apply to "underlying" forms and produce "surface" forms, which are then fed into the next morphological level. These phonological rules could be implemented as two-level rules. It is in this sense that two-level phonology can be used as a tool to computationally implement a linguistic theory.

Doing two–level phonology on a computer

Earlier in this article two–level phonology was described as a type of finite state phonology. The importance of this observation lies in the fact that finite state devices can be effectively constructed on a computer. Various computer implementations of Koskenniemi's two–level model have been done, but they have all required large, expensive computers. In order to bring the power of the two–level model to individual linguists who do not have access to a large computer, SIL has recently released PC–KIMMO, a computer program that runs the two–level model on personal computers, namely IBM PC compatibles and the Apple Macintosh. It is named after Kimmo Koskenniemi, the originator of the two–level model. The program is included with the book entitled *PC–KIMMO: A Two–level Processor for Morphological Analysis* (Antworth 1990). The book is a tutorial on developing two–level descriptions with PC–KIMMO. It teaches how to write two–level rules in the notation used above and then how to translate them into finite state tables, which is the notation the computer actually uses. For example, rules 3 and 4 above translate into the following tables:

Rule 3: Palatalization

	t	t	@	@
	c	@	i	@
1:	3	2	1	1
2:	3	2	0	1
3.	0	0	1	0

Rule 4: Vowel Raising

	e	e	C	@	@
	i	@	C	i	@
1:	4	2	1	1	1
2:	4	2	3	1	1
3:	4	2	1	0	1
4.	0	0	5	0	0
5.	0	0	0	1	0

Describing what these tables mean and how to construct them is beyond the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that while an ordinary, working linguist can learn to translate two–level rules into finite state tables, it does require motivation and a commitment of

time. And what practical uses does PC-KIMMO have? Here are two:

- Field linguists can use PC-KIMMO as a tool for developing and testing phonological and morphological descriptions.
- Applications based on PC-KIMMO can be developed that will morphologically analyze text in preparation for interlinear glossing or dialect adaptation.

Neither two-level phonology nor PC-KIMMO is the ultimate answer to the challenges of phonological description or computational word parsing. While phonological theory has advanced beyond the classical generative theory that two-level phonology grew out of, two-level phonology is still consistent with many generally accepted and widely practiced views of phonology. In addition, its formalism for rule application provides an alternative to generative rule application that can be computationally implemented in practical systems for natural language processing.

NOTES

[1] I would like to thank those who read and commented on the draft of this paper: Gary Simons, Stuart Milliken, and David Payne.

[2] In palatalization rules throughout this paper, *c* represents [ts].

[3] This made-up example is used for expository purposes. To make better phonological sense, the forms should have internal morpheme boundaries, for instance *te+mi* (otherwise there would be no basis for positing an underlying *e*). See the section below on the use of zero to see how morpheme boundaries are handled.

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COMPUTING IN LINGUISTICS

A Two–level Processor for Morphological Analysis

by Gary F. Simons

While the fields of computational linguistics and natural language processing have been dominated by syntactic parsing, we in SIL find that morphological parsing is a necessary prerequisite. This is due to the fact that our field projects deal with non–Indo–European languages, many of which have complex morphological systems. In such languages, syntactic parsing can get nowhere until the individual words and their constituent morphemes are identified. Besides its importance for syntactic parsing, morphological parsing is useful to the field linguist for other purposes. These uses include verifying one's morphological analysis against real data, automatic morphological glossing of interlinear texts, and computerized translation or dialect adaptation systems. One such morphological parser that is in wide use in SIL is AMPLE (Weber and others 1988, Simons 1989), which together with its companion program STAMP (Weber and others 1990) form a system for doing the applications just mentioned, particularly automatic dialect adaptation.

Now another program for doing morphological analysis has been released called PC–KIMMO. It is an implementation of the two–level model of morphology developed by Kimmo Koskenniemi (Koskenniemi 1983), a Finnish computer scientist. (See the article by Antworth in this issue for an introduction to two–level phonology.) Koskenniemi had the same problem that many SIL linguists have: Finnish is such a highly agglutinative language that words can have literally thousands of inflected forms. Koskenniemi developed a system that can analyze words both phonologically (accounting for morphophonemic changes) and morphologically (breaking them into constituent morphemes). Previously, computer implementations of Koskenniemi's two–level model were available only on large computers at academic institutions. PC–KIMMO was expressly developed to run on personal microcomputers, thus making the power

of the two–level model available to individuals with limited computing resources. PC–KIMMO runs on any PC–compatible computer using the MS–DOS operating system. It will even run on a Sharp PC–5000 with 256K of memory. Versions are also available for Apple Macintosh and the UNIX operating system.

PC–KIMMO is described in the 273–page book *PC–KIMMO: A Two–level Processor For Morphological Analysis*, written by Evan L. Antworth. It was published in 1990 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and appears as number 16 in the series Occasional Publications in Academic Computing. (It may be ordered from the International Academic Bookstore, 7500 W. Camp Wisdom Road, Dallas, TX 75236, phone (214)–709–2404. The book plus software diskette retails for $23. Be sure to specify computer and disk format.) The PC–KIMMO book is a user's guide to developing two–level linguistic descriptions. It includes tutorials on how to write two–level phonological rules and translate them into the finite state tables that the PC–KIMMO processor uses, how to describe various phonological processes using the two–level model, how to construct a lexicon, and how to operate the PC–KIMMO program. The PC–KIMMO software diskette includes the program, a source code function library, and a dozen or so sample rule and lexicon files.

What is PC–KIMMO and what does it do?

One of the most important features of PC–KIMMO is that it operates *bidirectionally*. That is, it processes forms both in an underlying–to–surface direction (as does generative phonology) and in a surface–to–underlying direction (as does a parser, such as AMPLE). Underlying–to–surface processing is called generation; surface–to–underlying processing is called recognition. In generation mode PC–KIMMO can be used to simulate phonological processes, producing the surface word form that corresponds to a given underlying form. In recognition mode PC–KIMMO can be used to parse surface word forms, returning underlying forms with glosses. Note that it is **not** necessary to write two versions of the phonological rules, one for generation and another for recognition. There is only one set of rules for a particular description. Bidirectional processing is possible because the rules are *declarative*; that is, they represent the relationship between underlying and surface forms as a set of static correspondences. This is in contrast to the process rules used by

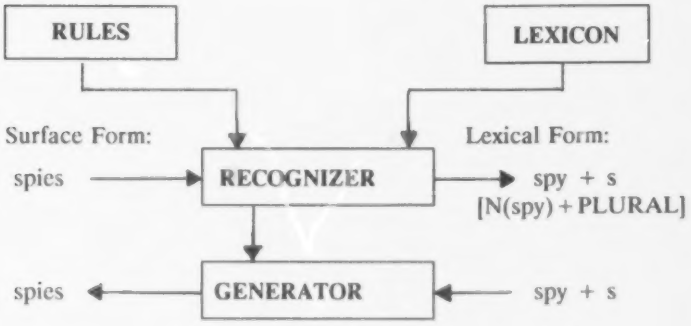
generative phonology which relate forms by transforming one into another. Such rules are inherently unidirectional. It should also be understood that the two levels used in the model can be any two levels of representation that differ in their level of abstraction. This means that the user can use PC-KIMMO to handle allophonic alternations by positing phonemic and phonetic levels, morphophonemic alternations by positing morphophonemic and phonemic levels, or even spelling alternations by positing orthographic levels.

PC-KIMMO is a general program that will handle any language. The user provides the phonological and morphological analysis of a particular language in the form of two input files:

- a *rules* file, which specifies the alphabet and phonological rules, and
- a *lexicon* file, which lists lexical items (morphemes and unparseable words) in their underlying form, together with glosses and morphotactic constraints.

The two functional components of the two-level model are the Generator and the Recognizer. The Generator accepts as input a lexical (underlying) form, applies the rules, and returns the corresponding surface form. It does not use the lexicon. The Recognizer accepts as input a surface form, applies the rules, consults the lexicon, and returns the corresponding lexical form and gloss string. Figure 1 shows the main components of the two-level model. As an example, the figure shows how PC-KIMMO would handle the spelling alternations found in the English words *spy* and *spies*.

Figure 1 Main components of PC–KIMMO



The PC–KIMMO program, as it is found on the release disk, is actually a shell program that gives the user access to the functional components shown in figure 1. It provides an interactive environment within which the user can develop, test, and debug two–level descriptions. When the program is run, a command–line prompt appears on the screen. The user then types in commands which PC–KIMMO executes. For example, in a typical session a user executes commands to load the rules and lexicon files (which have been prepared in advance) and then submits word forms to the generator and recognizer functions. This is done either by typing them directly from the keyboard and immediately seeing the result on the screen or by reading in disk files of test data. These test files give the expected output forms for each input form so that actual output forms are compared with expected forms and only the exceptional cases are reported. If the results are incorrect, the user finds the source of the error, edits the files to correct the mistakes, loads the modified files, and again submits the test forms. This testing and debugging cycle eventually results in a two–level description that accounts for all the data at hand.

At this point there is not much else that the user can do with the PC–KIMMO program itself. Since it is intended to facilitate development of a description, it has relatively little data–processing capability. However, the functional components of PC–KIMMO's processing engine, as shown in figure 1, are distributed as a source

code function library that can be included in a program written by the user. For example, a syntactic parser could use PC-KIMMO as a morphological preprocessor, or a text interlinearizing program could use PC-KIMMO to automatically gloss words and morphemes. For many users, the PC-KIMMO shell program is all that they will need, particularly if their main purpose is verification of their linguistic analysis. But for those who want to put PC-KIMMO to use in an application, the programming hooks are there for them to use.

What is the two-level model?

PC-KIMMO is based on the two-level model of morphology, where "morphology" is taken to include both phonology and morphology proper. The term "two-level" applies mainly to the phonological side of the model. Specifically, the two levels are an underlying or lexical level and a surface level which are related to each other by rules. As far as this goes, the two-level model resembles classical generative phonology (see Chomsky and Halle 1968). The crucial difference comes in the nature of the rules themselves. Generative phonology uses ordered, sequential rewriting rules. As an artifact of this method of rule application, an intermediate level of representation is created as the output of each successive rule. These intermediate forms serve as the input to the next rule, and so on until all the rules apply and a surface form is produced. In contrast, the two-level model uses simultaneously applied realization rules. The rules do not change one form into another, rather they merely state static, symbol-for-symbol correspondences between underlying forms and surface forms. The rules do not need to be sequentially ordered because they are sensitive to both underlying and surface environments. For example, a two-level rule can specify that an underlying *n* is realized as a surface *m* when it occurs in the environment preceding an underlying *p* that is realized as a surface *b*. In contrast, generative rules are sensitive only to their immediate input environments; they cannot "look ahead" to the surface form, nor can they look all the way back to the original underlying form.

As an example of what a two-level rule looks like, we will use some data from the Iñupiaq (northwest Alaskan Eskimo) language that we looked at in my review of AMPLE (Simons 1989). In these data, the final *t* of a root becomes *n* before the initial *n* of a suffix; for example, the underlying form *tuqut+niaq* is realized as the surface form

tuqunniaq. (The ultimate formulation of this rule is more general.) The two–level model expresses the relationship between the underlying representation (UR) and the surface representation (SR) as a direct, symbol–for–symbol correspondence:

UR:	t	u	q	u	t	+	n	i	a	q
SR:	t	u	q	u	n	0	n	i	a	q

Notice that because each underlying character must have a corresponding surface character, the morpheme boundary symbol is deleted by means of placing it in correspondence with a surface zero or null symbol. The two–level rule that expresses the morphophonemic alternation between *t* and *n* looks like this:

t:n ⇔ __ +:0 n:n

In the two–level notation, underlying–to–surface correspondences are written as a pair of symbols separated by a colon; thus *t:n* stands for an underlying *t* that is realized as a surface *n*. The arrow expresses a logical relation between the correspondence pair to its left and the environment to its right. In this example, the double–headed arrow means that the correspondence *t:n* obligatorily (always and only) occurs in the stated environment. Notice that the rule's environment is also stated in terms of two–level correspondences. Thus the environment expression specifies a *+:0* correspondence, meaning an underlying morpheme boundary that corresponds to a surface zero (that is, it is deleted), followed by an *n:n* correspondence, meaning an underlying *n* realized as a surface *n*.

The two–level model of phonology is significant for two reasons. First, two–level rules are bidirectional, able to both generate and recognize forms with equal ease. Second, the two–level model makes it possible to implement bidirectional phonological rules on the computer. Two–level rules have a direct computational equivalent as devices called *finite state transducers*. These formal–language devices are mathematically simple and computationally efficient. Unfortunately, they are notationally inelegant. While the linguistic notation for two–level rules is useful for understanding and formulating rules, the PC–KIMMO program requires that the user translate two–level rules into finite state tables. The two–level rule above translates into the following state table:

```
    t t + n @
    n @ 0 n @
1:  4 2 1 1 1
2:  4 2 3 1 1
3:  4 2 1 0 1
4.  0 0 5 0 0
5.  0 0 0 1 0
```

I will not attempt here to explain what this state table means. The book which accompanies the PC-KIMMO program describes in detail how to write two-level rules and then how to convert them into state tables. Furthermore, an entire chapter of the book is devoted to illustrating how to write two-level rules and state tables for various phonological and morphological processes, including assimilation, vowel harmony, spreading nasalization, deletion, insertion, coalescence, gemination, metathesis, infixation, and reduplication. While learning to write state tables should not present an insurmountable obstacle to anyone who is sufficiently motivated to use PC-KIMMO, it does require time and effort!

How does PC-KIMMO compare with AMPLE?

For those who are already familiar with AMPLE, or who are shopping for a morphological parser, a comparison of PC-KIMMO with AMPLE is in order. In a nutshell, PC-KIMMO is good in phonology but weak in morphology, while AMPLE is weak in phonology but good in morphology. Here is what I mean. On the phonological side, PC-KIMMO has a fully-developed model that includes both underlying and surface levels of representation and a rules component. In this respect it is highly congruent with the way linguists think about phonology. AMPLE, on the other hand, lacks an underlying level of representation. Its lexicon must list all the surface allomorphs of each morpheme. Because PC-KIMMO has an underlying level, its lexicon lists only the underlying form of each morpheme. For the Iñupiaq example above, an AMPLE lexicon must list both *tuqut* and its allomorph *tuqun*; in contrast, a PC-KIMMO lexicon lists only the underlying form *tuqut*. AMPLE's lack of an underlying level also means that its phonological component consists of statements of constraints on the co-occurrence of surface allomorphs. PC-KIMMO's phonological component uses rules to relate underlying and surface forms in a manner familiar to linguists.

On the morphological side, things are quite different. PC-KIMMO's facility for specifying complex morphotactic constraints is clearly inferior to AMPLE's. Whereas AMPLE has a full arsenal of mechanisms for filtering out all but the correct morphotactic structures, PC-KIMMO is limited to specifying linear order of morphemes. PC-KIMMO is particularly poor at handling discontinuous co-occurrence constraints, such as between certain prefixes and suffixes.

So which program should you use? If your purpose is to model and verify your phonological analysis, PC-KIMMO is the better choice. If you want to pursue a theoretical interest in two-level phonology, then of course PC-KIMMO is the only choice. On the other hand, if your main interest is morphological parsing, particularly if the language under study has complex morphotactic constraints but relatively few morphophonemic alternations, then AMPLE is the better choice. Finally, if you are involved in an application such as dialect adaptation, then the combination of AMPLE and STAMP provide a ready-made solution; on the other hand, if you want to develop your own natural language processing application, the PC-KIMMO function library provides a ready-made morphological processor.[2]

NOTES

[1] We are presently testing a new program that will automatically translate two-level rules into finite state tables.

[2] A new text-processing program built with the PC-KIMMO parser is now available. It can produce output that is compatible with AMPLE's output.

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ON AMBIGUITY: A DIARY ENTRY

by John W.M. Verhaar

The Netherlands

For some reason we have pondered for decades about the "ambiguity" of "Flying planes can be dangerous". I might as well use a fresh example:

(1) Floating quantifiers can be fun.

That is, it can be fun to observe quantifiers that float, and it can be fun to float quantifiers. In a sense, (1) is "ambiguous". Let (1a) be such that *floating quantifiers* has *quantifiers* as the object of *floating* (which is thus the head of the subject NP), and let (1b) be such that *floating* is an attribute to *quantifiers* (which is the head of the subject NP).

Just how is it that (1) is "ambiguous"? We could say that the "source" of the ambiguity is in that phrasal subject, whose head in (1a) is *floating*, while in (1b) it is *quantifiers*. But we could say also that the "source" of the ambiguity is *can*, which happens to be unmarked for the difference between a singular subject (in (1a)) and a plural subject (in (1b)). With *is* for *can be* in (1) there would be no "ambiguity", and neither would there be with *are*. So there isn't really any **single** "source" of ambiguity in (1). It is the combination, rather, of phrasal ambiguity of *floating quantifiers* and the ("irregular") unmarkedness for the number distinction in *can* that "triggers" the ambiguity. It seems reasonable to say that there is something quirky about the combined sources of ambiguity in (1). But if so, is the ambiguity linguistically important? I suggest it isn't.

Let me illustrate the problem with example (2) (due, I believe, to Paul Postal):

(2) We went because of the | sandwiches / sand which is | there.

Orthography happens to disambiguate here, but our ear wouldn't. Is (2) "ambiguous"? Well, yes, but the homophony of *sandwiches* and

sand which is would strike most linguists as a rather quirky source of ambiguity.

Could we say, then, that (2) is "ambiguous" by the kind of homophony which would not "explain" (1)? Clearly we can't, for in (2) there's also a syntactic source of ambiguity: on the *sand* reading, *there* modifies a verb; on the *sandwiches* reading, *there* modifies a noun. (Adverbs can be used adnominally, without any further marking, in a number of languages, English among them, but not in other languages, e.g. not in Japanese.) Again, the "ambiguity" of (2) seems rather coincidental.

But what about (3)?

(3) I had my wallet stolen.

This may mean either that I caused someone to steal my wallet or that I experienced the theft of my wallet without any "manipulative" role on my part. In English, *have* + object + past may do either job. Are these two different "meanings" or "just" two "shades" of what is essentially the "same" meaning? If the former, we have "ambiguity" in (3); if the latter, we have no such thing.

* * *

Another question is: just what is it that we may say is "ambiguous"? If we say (1) is "ambiguous", is, then, (1) a "sentence" (or "clause")? Clearly, (1a) and (1b) are different sentences – which happen to be "homonymous". As sentences, they are types, but the token representation is "ambiguous". It would follow that "ambiguity" can be predicated only of tokens, not of types – of any one token, that is, that represents more than one type.

But obviously, to deal with tokens as if they were types is to take a behavioristic view of data. So if we consider (1) as one thing, we could say that (1) is one "surface structure" but it has two different "deep" structures. But (as Simon Dik once noted), we need deep structures only if our surface structures are still Bloomfieldian. Thus those working with deep structures are unreconstituted Bloomfieldians with a mentalist varnish – they work both sides of the Cartesian street.

So "ambiguity" is essentially a nonproblem (of which punners artistically avail themselves) masquerading as some profound riddle. Of course, for someone learning a language "ambiguity" may be a (temporary) problem. Thus, pedagogical works fruitfully deal with "ambiguity". Learners have to get used to (say) WYSINWYG – What You See Is Not What You Get. Or: what you hear is more than what meets the ear.

Identical twins, after all, are just that: twins – plural. Not that you would doubt that, of course, but if you ever do, just hire twins, and you'll find you'll have to pay two salaries – there's no such thing as one "surface" salary and two "deep" salaries.

* * *

So far we have been worrying about what may be (and has been) called "structural" ambiguity. Is there also something like "pragmatic ambiguity"? (Or, with a more current term, "referential ambiguity"?). Let's call this "PA" (and let that label also stand for "pragmatically ambiguous" – unless, of course, ambiguity were to arise from this – I promise to avoid that). Let "structural ambiguity" be "SA".

Note that (4)

(4) John Smith worries too much about ambiguity.

would be PA as many ways as there are persons known as "John Smith" who worry as specified – if we take PA seriously. Most of us wouldn't, and probably very few linguists would recognize PA in (5)

(5) I study ambiguity.

(seeing that *I* is PA x ways where "x" represents the number of utterers of (5)). Deixis is best eliminated from the study of PA.

Or is it? Utterance (6)

(6) What do you mean I can't!

could be a reaction to either (7) or (8)

(7) You can't!

(8) I can't!

If to (7), (6) would have *I* stand for the speaker; if to (8), (6) would have *I* stand for the hearer. We may call the latter "quotational *I*" or "echo *I*". Can, then, *I* be PA as between speaker and interlocutor? Clearly, context would be disambiguating, but that would be true of almost any case of ambiguity. ("Quotational" use of deictic expressions would be only one case of "deictic reversal", but I can't deal with everything in one diary entry.)

* * *

PA, I suggest, is not very promising – examples may look interesting, but then the problem if any seems to be elsewhere – that of "deictic reversal", or of the vicissitudes of onomastic reference as in (4), or of linguists allowing tokens to impersonate types.

But PA seems definitely more interesting than SA. PA, of course, is a more holistic approach (even though, in this case, to a nonproblem). Is there an even more holistic approach to SA? It seems there is: take the "ambiguous" utterances in context – which is what SA enthusiasts are not wont to do. The context will disambiguate – or mostly – so SA "problems" are mostly due to "sentence grammar". But even the context need not entirely consist of (say) linguistic strings. There are all kinds of things we presuppose when using language – those "files" Givón has talked about: those "permanent" files (within the culture, say), and those "temporary" files for specific situations. A man walking into the police station muttering (3) to the officer at the desk is not giving himself up for conspiracy to defraud the insurance company.

Let me call this (presumably) most "comprehensive" view of "ambiguity": "communicative ambiguity", or "CA". But CA is obviously never there – except in a small no man's land punners avail themselves of (the reason why we easily miss puns is that the punner's "file" is a bit contrived).

If there were any such thing as CA, we would have to say that (9)

> (9) I was wondering whether you might be interested to abandon the location.

is three ways "ambiguous": as a statement about the speaker's wonder; as one about the addressee's interest; and as a polite

circumlocution for "Beat it!". To make things more complicated, *might be* could as well be negated: *might not be* – and there would be very little difference in the three-way "ambiguity".

And so, the more comprehensive our view, the more that "problem" called "ambiguity" gets exposed for the theoretical allergenic it is. Strong stuff – saying this. I might not get away with that in a serious paper. But writers of diaries are sovereign. ■

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Encouraging News From The 1990–91 Annual Meeting of the LSA

In the March 1991 issue of the *LSA Bulletin*, the following resolution was unanimously approved (from page 5 of *LSA Bulletin* No. 131, March, 1991):

> Whereas the LSA considers all 6,000 human languages the proper subject matter of its study and concern, and
>
> Whereas the loss of any one of these languages is a grave loss to linguistics, and
>
> Whereas as many as half the world's languages are already obsolescent, i.e., are no longer spoken by new generations and therefore will become extinct during the coming century; and
>
> Whereas the majority of the rest are threatened with the same fate, if present trends continue,
>
> Be it therefore resolved that the Linguistic Society of America respond to this situation by encouraging the documentation, study, and measures in support of obsolescent and threatened languages in proportion to urgency and by fostering the granting of degrees, positions, and promotion in academic institutions for such work, including, e.g., the compilation of grammars, dictionaries, and literary corpora in such languages.
>
> Be it further resolved that the LSA encourage academic institutions to provide programs appropriate also for native speakers of these languages to pursue such work.
>
> Be it further resolved that the LSA establish a committee to take responsibility for these concerns, and to coordinate its work with other organizations.

What, exactly, is it about languages that linguists want to preserve? Obviously, dictionaries and texts (preferably interlinearized), but much more also: data-rich descriptions, such as reference grammars, phonlogical analyses, ample listings of paradigms and contextual frames, etc., gathered within a general framework that enables comparison and cross-linguistic inference. The purpose of the evolving *SIL Field Manual* is closely related to the LSA resolutions named above. Its focus is to help fieldworkers to contribute to the body of knowledge about the world's languages in a systematic way. Tom Payne's article (next page) explains some of the principles on which the *SIL Field Manual* is founded.

—The Editor

Handling Language Data: Excerpts from a Field Manual

by Thomas Payne

Editor's Note: As part of Project 95, SIL is producing a Field Manual to assist linguists and technicians in compiling language data.

The Syntax Section of this manual represents one possible system of categorization for linguistic structures. The particular system presented is one which it is hoped is consistent with general principles of late 20th century linguistic science. That is, the terms and concepts as they are defined here should be understandable to linguists from all theoretical orientations. As the field linguist works through the grammar of a language using the outline of this manual as a guide, questions will undoubtedly arise as to the appropriateness of particular definitions and interpretations to the language being described. This is good. It is only through honest interaction with data that we learn where our conceptions concerning universal principles of linguistic structure need to be revised.

It might be said that the whole purpose of this manual is to lead researchers to gather the necessary information about a language without excluding the language-specific features, so as to have the data they need to demonstrate mastery of the language. This will enable them to make a contribution to the scholarly world by producing reference grammars or grammatical sketches such as linguists of the world are calling for. A background purpose of the manual is to encourage field linguists to find holes in current theoretical understandings of universal linguistic structures. To the extent that it makes such understanding accessible to the linguistic technician, then it has accomplished its task.

A basic assumption of the manual is that the best way to understand Language, as well as any particular language, is intense interaction with data. Hence, extensive examples are provided from various languages for illustration and the reader is encouraged to compare the illustrations (and the principles they are supposed to illustrate) with linguistic data from a language he or she is attempting to

describe. It is through such comparison and interaction that an understanding of the language develops, and, almost as a by-product, theoretical principles of linguistic structure and categorization emerge.

The structure of the manual is roughly that of a fairly complete grammar sketch of a typical language. The headings and subheadings represent systems and subsystems likely to be encountered in any language. Under many of the headings and subheadings there appear questions of the form, "How are relative clauses formed?" Answers to these questions could constitute substantive portions of a grammar sketch or full reference grammar. If the field worker understands a question and can relate it immediately to some specific data in the language being described, he or she can simply answer the question and provide examples. In many cases, however, the field worker will not necessarily be able to answer the questions completely without consulting some additional reference material. Paragraphs labeled "help" are designed to provide a more detailed description of the particular linguistic system treated in each subsection of the manual. These help paragraphs normally provide illustrations of various ways in which languages are known to accomplish the particular function in question. For example, there are three broad ways in which languages are known to form predicate nominal clauses. Under "help" in the section on predicate nominals, each of these three strategies and their subtypes are briefly explained and exemplified. Then the reader is referred to relevant resources for additional information.

An on-screen version of the manual is being prepared for making the outline and helps readily accessible to computer users. Of necessity, the screen version of the helps will be more succinct than the hard copy version.

ON ELICITED AND TEXT DATA

One concern language analysts have is to discern the "patterns" of the language: regularities and irregularities. Rather than making claims on the basis of idiosyncratic constructions, they need to be able to make generalizations and support them. Having the proper kind of data is essential.

Both text and elicited data are essential to good descriptive linguistics. They each have advantages and disadvantages. The field linguist needs to be aware of these in order to make the best use of all the data available. Even as a fork is no good for eating soup, and a spoon is awkward for eating steak, so elicited and text data each have their own areas of usefulness. The field linguist will be handicapped in conceptualizing a linguistic system if he or she attempts to use one type of data to accomplish a task best performed by the other type.

In the following paragraphs, I will first define and present some characteristics of text and elicited data. Then I will list the areas of linguistic analysis that each type of data is best suited to. Finally, I will suggest some ways in which text and elicited data might be managed in the course of a linguistic field program.

Definitions

Here I will use the word "text" to mean any sample of language that accomplishes a non-hypothetical communicative task. By contrast, "elicitation" (or "elicited data") refers to samples of language that accomplish hypothetical communicative tasks.

The task of elicited language samples is to fulfill a metalinguistic request on the part of the linguist, e.g., "How do you say 'dog'?" The response would not actually refer to any concept, either referential or non-referential. No particular dog or characteristic of dogs in general would be communicated. The task of the response would be to accommodate the inquirer by providing a reasonable analog to some hypothetical utterance in another language. So elicited utterances, like all intentional human behavior, do fulfill tasks. It's just that the communicative tasks they fulfill are "hypothetical", in the sense just described.

"Text" would include, then, some single-sentence utterances, for example greetings. Similarly, "elicitation" could include multi-sentence language samples. Longer utterances are more likely to qualify as text, but there is no necessary connection. My experience is that longer utterances, even when in response to metalinguistic queries, tend to evolve into real text, as it is difficult for most speakers to maintain a hypothetical perspective on their speech for an

extended period of time. Most people need to be taught to speak in terms of hypothetical knowledge. Metalinguistic queries tend to be interpreted as non–hypothetical, especially when a language consultant (authoritative language source, i.e. a mature native speaker) is new on the job. For example, I once asked a consultant, "How do you say, 'Yero kissed Dena'?". She responded with "He wouldn't do that!". Scribner (1979) is a fascinating empirical study of the relation between speech based on general knowledge and speech based on hypothetical knowledge.

Properties of text and elicited data

Good text is uncontrolled, open–ended and dynamic. A text will contain forms that never appear in elicitation. It will also contain forms that appear in elicitation, but in sometimes obviously and sometimes subtly different usages. There is much idiosyncrasy in text. That is, forms are used in novel ways in order to accomplish very specific communicative tasks. Sometimes this is referred to as "nonce" usage. For example, a sentence like, "He psycho–babbled away our two hour appointment" might arise in a particular communication situation, even though the verb "to psycho–babble" is probably not a part of the lexicalized vocabulary of most English speakers. One wonders how such a sentence could possibly be elicited! Such idiosyncrasy often provides great insights into speakers' ways of thinking and conceptualizing their experience.

In addition to learning the uncontrolled, flexible, idiosyncratic aspects of a language, the field worker also needs to be aware of its regular, systematic and predictable aspects. Elicited data is controlled, limited and static. Phonology is probably the most rule–governed and systematic area of language, though even in phonology there is communicationally–based idiosyncratic variation.

The controlled, systematic and rule–dominated parts of language are best approached with an emphasis on elicited data. This would include:

1. Phonology (excluding intonation)
2. Morphophonemics
3. Inventory of derivational morphology(which derivational operations apply to which roots, etc.)
4. Inflectional inventory (determining the range of inflectional possibilities for person and number "agreement" and case marking)
5. Pronoun inventory (isolating the entire set of free pronouns)
6. Lexical inventory (acquiring the words for a large number of culturally significant things and activities)

Note that in elicitation there is an emphasis on obtaining "inventories" of various coding possibilities. Languages typically employ a small number of verb forms in text, though many more forms may be possible. For example, a declarative sentence with a second person subject is very rare in texts in many languages. This is because people don't normally inform other people concerning activities of the person spoken to. Questions are much more natural in such a context. Nevertheless, a description of the language would be incomplete if the second person declarative forms were missing. Elicitation is essential to the completion of paradigm charts. Often the meaning of a particular operator is not clear until the entire set of operators that it is in a paradigmatic relationship with is identified. Entire paradigms are rarely obtained by inspection of texts. The same observation can be applied to syntactic constructions. For example, whether a particular transitive construction is a passive or an ergative depends at least partially on whether there exists a corresponding "active" construction. Similarly, the precise function of SVO word order may not be apparent until minimal pairs with VSO order are obtained. Text data may exhibit SVO and VSO orders, but in text examples there are usually enough other formal (morphemic or other contrastive) differences that the precise contribution of word order or the observed semantic differences is obscured. True minimal pairs are usually obtainable only through elicitation.

The more pragmatic, semantic and subtle parts of language are best analyzed via a large body of text data, supplemented by elicitation where necessary. This would include:

1. Intonation
2. Constituent order
3. Inflectional morphology (determine the precise functions of inflectional morphology, including tense/aspect/mode)
4. Voice (arrangement of grammatical relations with respect to verbal case frames)
5. Sentence level particles (evidentials, validationals and pragmatic highlighting particles)
6. Clause combining (including relativization, complementation, adverbial clauses and clause chaining)
7. Lexical semantics (determining the nuances associated with various lexical choices, including derivational morphology and pronouns)

Suggestions for managing texts and elicited data

In all of these areas there should properly be an "interchange" between elicitation and text. One excellent method of learning a language is to start with a well-transcribed text (sometimes this is not obtainable until the phonological system has been assimilated, i.e. several months into the field program). The linguist and the consultant then go over the text sentence by sentence, with the consultant commenting on the meaning of each sentence (this scenario assumes a sophisticated and sometimes bilingual, but not necessarily literate, consultant). The linguist takes notes on these comments in the margins of the printed text and elicits utterances around the sentences that appear in the text. For example, if the meaning of a particular morpheme is not clear, the linguist may ask if the sentence is possible without that morpheme. What semantic nuances change (according to the consultant's interpretation) when the morpheme is removed? Can different word orders be employed? What would the speaker have meant if he/she had said ACB instead of ABC?

All utterances elicited in this way should be clearly marked as elicited in whatever filing system is employed. Proposed semantic or pragmatic nuances should also be checked carefully with other consultants. The first inclination for many consultants regarding grammatically acceptable variants of a sentence is to say "they mean

the same thing". The linguist should not take a consultant's first attempt at contrastive semantic nuances as definitive. Some consultants are better than others at introspecting about their language and operating in hypothetical communicative situations. Also, some linguistic alternations have no consistent semantic effects. They either really do "mean the same thing" or their semantic differences vary from context to context, speaker to speaker, or even day to day for the same speaker.

I would suggest beginning field work in a language with a heavy emphasis on elicitation, moving towards a greater reliance on text material as the field worker begins to internalize the systematic properties of the language. Perhaps a rule of thumb would be to begin with 90% elicited data, and 10% text data, then move gradually to 90% text data and 10% elicited data at some point in the second year. Consistent with this progression, the field worker should begin by studying the systematic aspects of language and gradually move towards the less systematic, more idiosyncratic aspects (see above).

Text data should be distinguished from elicited data in whatever cataloging system is employed. The functions of these two types of data are so different that they should be kept formally distinct as much as possible. In an automated filing system, one can either mark each record as elicited or text, or one can keep elicited data in a completely different database from text data. I have done it both ways. In my text database I have "comment" records interspersed with the records that constitute the body of the text. Each comment has the same record number as the record it is a comment about, with the addition of the characters "cm N" where *N* is a number. The characters "cm" simply identify the record as an elicited sentence – not part of the text – while the number allows multiple comments on any given text record. For example, the reference field containing "FA016.1 cm 1" indicates that this record is the first comment attached to the record FA016.1. If I want to just look at or print the text, I can filter out all records that contain "cm" in the reference field. I also have another entire database set up for elicited data. These files are distinguished by their filenames from the files containing text data.

Text and elicited data are both essential to a well-rounded field program. Each is useful for particular purposes. This functional

difference makes a formal distinction between the two types of data essential.

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THE 16TH ANNUAL

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure. Edited by Mark R. Baltin and Anthony S. Kroch. 1989. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. $19.95 (paperback)

Reviewed by Michael Maxwell

When Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* appeared in 1957, it seemed clear what phrase structure grammar was. The left–hand side of a phrase structure rule contained a single atomic category (the parent node's label: NP, S...), while the right–hand side of the rule contained one or more atomic categories (the daughters) in left–to–right order. Correspondingly, node labels in a phrase structure tree were atomic categories; phrase structure trees encoded both left–to–right order and domination (parent–daughter) properties; domination lines never crossed (if an NP was to the left of a VP, every subnode of the NP was to the left of every subnode of the VP). Beginning with Chomsky's own *Remarks on Nominalization* (1970), virtually all of these claims, and even the existence of phrase structure rules themselves, have been called into question.

This growing diversity of opinions on the nature of phrase structure is reflected in the book being reviewed, which consists of the revised versions of papers delivered at the conference *Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure*, held at New York University in 1986. The theories presented range from Categorial Grammar to Lexical Functional Grammar (but Relational Grammar is only briefly mentioned).

None of these papers is intended as a tutorial, and while most do not require thorough knowledge of the particular theoretical approach the author advocates, they do presuppose an acquaintance with current issues in syntactic theory.

Mark Baltin: Heads and Projections

Working in the Government Binding (GB) theory, Baltin argues that heads select (= subcategorize for) lexical categories, not maximal projections. For instance, transitive verbs select an N, not an NP. Other principles conspire to ensure that complements are full

phrases. One desirable result is that Baltin can eliminate the disjunction in the Empty Category Principle which requires an empty category to be either lexically- or antecedent-governed. Baltin also claims an explanation for several facts about verb-particle movement (put on your coat/ put your coat on), but it is unclear how he accounts for some of the well-known restrictions on this phenomenon (particularly lexical restrictions).

Ronald Kaplan and Annie Zaenen: Long-Distance Dependencies, Constituent Structure, and Functional Uncertainty

In *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chomsky argued that grammatical relations (subject, direct object etc.) are not primary, but rather are read off the phrase structure. For instance, an English subject is an NP immediately dominated by an S node. Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) rejects this claim, assigning independent standing to c[onstituent]-structure relationships (category, linear order, and dominance relations) and to f[unctional]-structure relationships (grammatical relations). But the treatment of long-distance dependencies in LFG has been plagued by *ad hoc* c-structure constraints designed to capture the "island" restrictions on such dependencies (see e.g. Kaplan and Bresnan 1982). Using data from Icelandic and Japanese, Kaplan and Zaenen here argue that restrictions on long-distance dependencies should instead be treated in terms of f-structure. I find their arguments largely persuasive, although I suspect that ambiguity of case marking has more to do with the Japanese data than does their rather complex rule (71).

Lauri Karttunen: Radical Lexicalism

Karttunen presents a Categorial Grammar fragment for Finnish, of interest to field linguists because Finnish is a "free" word order language, and free word order is a notorious problem for most syntactic theories. Unfortunately, most field linguists are unfamiliar with Categorial Grammar, and Karttunen's paper will be difficult despite the short tutorial he includes. Nonetheless, for those struggling with free word order, it is worth the effort for the questions it forces the linguist to ask of his data.

Anthony S. Kroch: Asymmetries in Long-Distance Extraction in a Tree-Adjoining Grammar

Kroch considers *wh*-extraction in English, Italian, and Rumanian, arguing that asymmetries in island conditions between adjuncts and subjects on the one hand, and complements on the other, can be explained by restrictions on Tree-adjoining grammars (TAGs). Unfortunately, TAGs will be more familiar to the readers of Computational Linguistics than to readers of more traditional linguistics journals, and while Kroch gives a sketch of the theory, it is (necessarily) too brief to do the subject justice.

Alac Marantz: Clitics and Phrase Structure

Marantz, working in the GB framework, begins with the assumption that even the X-bar principles adumbrated by Chomsky (1970), which to a large extent replaced phrase structure rules, are superfluous, and should be replaced by a "slight" extension of GB's Projection Principle. The death knell for phrase structure, says Marantz, is the phenomenon of clitics, for cliticization blocks what would otherwise be well-motivated phrase structure analyses. (An example is the coalescence in many Romance languages of prepositions with a definite article, such as the French *de* "of" + *le* "the" —> *du*.) Field linguists can provide data bearing on the issues raised here, and indeed Marantz makes use of data from Doris Payne's analysis of Yagua (Peru). Evidence for structures, says Marantz, may come from the phonology (reminding the reviewer of Pike's discussion of grammatical and phonological "words").

James D. McCawley: Individuation in and of Syntactic Structures

For some years, McCawley has called attention to apparent instances of discontinuous phrase structure. Most familiar to English speakers will be extraposition structures (e.g. "A man came in whom I had met before", in which the relative clause has been "extraposed" from the subject NP which it modifies). Many "exotic" languages have a great deal more of this than English, of course; Walbiri is a favorite example of generative linguists, but classical Greek is also notorious for scattering parts of NPs throughout a sentence. In this paper, McCawley points out (without offering a theoretical solution) a number of instances in Japanese and English where phrase structure dominance lines seem to cross (as they would if an extraposed

relative clause were still attached to its antecedent NP), or where a constituent seems to be the daughter of two different phrases at the same time. While many of these examples represent genuine problems, the evidence in favor of McCawley's analyses is often debatable.

Ivan A. Sag and Carl Pollard: Subcategorization and Head–driven Phrase Structure

Head–driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) is a modification of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar in which feature structures take over the function of phrase structure rules. Indeed, as Sag and Pollard remark in their footnote 16, the properties of these feature structures render the term HPSG a misnomer, since the structures are not in fact phrase structures! (Many of the theories in this book share that property; the book might better have been entitled *Alternative Conceptions of Syntax*!) Sag and Pollard's paper is a condensed version of several chapters of their 1987 book (the first volume of a projected two–volume tutorial on this theory), which is a better reference than this short paper.

Mamoru Saito: Scrambling as Semantically Vacuous A'–Movement

Japanese is a (relatively) free word order language. Saito proposes an analysis of this phenomenon within the GB theory. Again, free word order is of crucial interest to field linguists; unfortunately, few there will be who will wade through this paper, which presupposes an in–depth understanding of GB. Briefly, Saito's claim is that so–called "scrambling" is really (Chomsky–)adjunction of phrases to S, and that the lack of quantifier effects is due to un–adjunction (i.e. movement back to DS position) at LF.

Mark Steedman: Constituency and Coordination in a Combinatory Grammar

The data that Steedman discusses in this paper is less likely to be of interest to field linguists, for it concerns such coordinate structures as "people who can solve, and robots which ignore, these very fundamental and obvious problems" (Steedman's example 45). Perhaps this is a good place to point out how different are the concerns of theoretical and field linguists. The field linguist, when confronted with such rarities as this construction, will be pardoned a

guffaw; why would anyone be concerned with a structure that the average native speaker of English would not even produce in a lifetime? But to the theoretical linguist, such phrases are of interest in part because they are so rare: for despite their rarity, we share grammaticality judgments. If learning a (first) language were a matter of memorizing patterns we hear, this consensus would be inexplicable; but if our language abilities depend on a shared (by all humans) innate mechanism, then we will not be surprised by similar judgments on novel constructions. (And such unusual constructions will be particularly useful to a theoretical linguist like Steedman who wants to study that shared innate mechanism.)

Tim Stowell: Subjects, Specifiers and X–Bar Theory

We all know that noun phrases are headed by nouns. This seemingly obvious fact has, however, been questioned; and Stowell examines the implications if noun phrases are instead headed by specifiers (determiners). His argumentation (based almost entirely on English) presupposes knowledge of recent work in GB theory; and like much recent writing within that framework, he proposes and then discards a number of analyses along the way, making for confusing reading.

Lisa Travis: Parameters of Phrase Structure

Travis's paper is a rare gem: it makes predictions of possible vs. impossible word orders for languages which field linguists are in an ideal position to test! This is not to say such tests will be easy or straightforward, for the gross data of word order can be misleading, as Travis shows in her analysis of object and PP order relative to the verb in Chinese and Kpelle. For instance, whether PPs in Chinese appear to the left or right of the verb depends on whether they are arguments or adjuncts; and whether a PP is an argument or an adjunct is not always clear. This distribution is of interest because no typology of word order based purely on category can capture the facts. Travis's solution is couched in terms of the GB theory, but could readily be translated to other frameworks. Briefly, she proposes that a language can set the directionality of only one of the following: headedness (head–final or head–initial), theta marking (left or right), and Case marking (left or right). Given the directionality of one of these parameters, the directionality of the others either follows (by default) or is free. While I do not find this proposal satisfying, it

deserves testing; it would not be the first time a counter-intuitive theory turned out to be right!

Edwin S. Williams: Maximal Projections in Words and Phrases

Most linguistic theories (tagmemics being an exception) assume an essential difference between the sub-theories of phrase structure (syntax) and morphology. Williams' paper is not so much about a new theory of phrase structure as it is about these differences. I find much to disagree with in Williams' view of morphology; for instance, the idea that not only derivational, but also inflectional, affixes are heads seems very odd. Likewise, Williams claims that there is a parallelism between morphology and syntax in that "Both use concatenation as the basic operation." Williams simply ignores the recent work in nonconcatenative morphology here. But the bulk of Williams' paper is devoted to what he views as the defining difference between morphology and syntax: syntax has maximal projections, morphology does not. From this one difference, says Williams, derive the other differences between the two sub-theories: case-marking, predication, reference, and opacity are all confined to syntax. Given Williams' presuppositions, these explanations seem for the most part convincing. One minor disagreement concerns his explanation of the lack of expletives (words like *it* and *there*) in morphology; he gives the examples (his 26) of "*It-raining is nice" (cf. "It rains"), and "*It appearance that Bill left was disquieting" (cf. "It appears that Bill left"), claiming that these are out because there are no non-theta positions in morphology. But the ungrammaticality of these examples can be explained without reference to theta roles: subjects cannot be incorporated in English, regardless of whether they fill a theta role: "*John-departure (is soon)" is simply ungrammatical, and "Nixon-admiring" can only mean admiration directed at Nixon, not Nixon's admiration of someone else.

With so much published in linguistics these days, it is becoming ever easier to omit reference to other work on a topic. Such omissions mar a few of the papers in this volume. For instance, Stowell presents certain data as if it were new, omitting mention of other linguists' work, as in his discussion of *wh*-extraction from common noun phrases (a topic which has been the focus of considerable attention since the days of John Ross). The clear difference between "Who did you sell a picture of?" (Stowell's 22a) and "??Who did you sell Mary's picture of?" (his 22c) is surely due not to the prenominal

genitive, as Stowell claims, but to the definite vs. indefinite determiner (cf. "??Who did you sell this picture of?"), as first pointed out by Brame (1977).

Likewise, the Chinese construction discussed in Travis's paper (pg. 267) in which direct objects appear with the preposition–like morpheme *ba*, seems a classical case of an antipassive construction. Nevertheless, Travis fails to mention the abundant literature on this topic (cf. e.g. Baker 1988, ch. 3 and the references therein), much of which would be germane to her discussion.

I found several serious typographical errors: pg. 1, example 4 should read "that the birds eat the worms" (the word *that* is omitted, and is crucial for the example); pg. 21, the last line before example 10 should read "...allowing S's" (not "...allowing Ss" – an overzealous proofreader probably caused this one); pg. 24 line 2, the first word should be "daughters", not "sisters"; on pg. 47, figure 8 is jumbled beyond recognition; pg. 139, the (unmarked) footnote: Pollard and Sag (in press) should be Pollard and Sag 1987, as in the bibliography (and as in the other references in the text); pg. 220, the paragraph below example 58 refers to a "former" and a "latter" example, but there is only one relevant example – 57 (which is apparently the "latter" example of the text); pg. 250, line 3, the reference to examples (25–28) should be to examples (27–30); the reference to Lasnik and Saito 1986 on pg. 263 does not appear in the bibliography (it should probably be to Lasnik and Saito in preparation); pg. 267, the reference to Goodall 1986 should be to Goodall 1987; pg. 284, the second line below example 10 "local" should read "locus"; and finally the bibliography lists two different papers by Higgins, both dated 1973, rendering references to "Higgins 1973" in the text ambiguous. Additionally, Travis is inconsistent in marking tone on her Chinese data, a problem that will probably not bother most readers.

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Toward an Understanding of Language: Charles Carpenter Fries in Perspective. Edited by Peter Howard Fries. Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 1985. xv, 384pp. $40.

Reviewed by Charles Peck

Waxhaw

This book is an exposition of C. C. Fries's ideas and a celebration of C. C. Fries's life, published a couple of years before the occasion of the centenary of his birth. It is edited by his youngest son and his wife, Peter and Nancy Fries.

The book begins with an introduction by Richard W. Bailey that details Fries's life and career. Then follow chapters by twenty other men and women who knew Fries and studied his writings. The twenty articles are divided into three groups: Part I contains four articles on Fries's ideas on English education. Part II contains ten articles on Fries's ideas on linguistics and the English language. And Part III has six articles on Fries's ideas on teaching English as a second language. Scattered between various chapters there are old photographs of C. C. Fries and his family. The three parts represent the main areas of Fries's work.

Fries was born in late 1887, graduated form Bucknell University with a B.A. and was awarded membership in Phi Beta Kappa in 1909. He studied theology for one year at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago and sometimes preached in the Baptist Church in Ann Arbor. He returned to Bucknell and earned an M.A. in 1911. He joined the faculty of the classics department and taught there for four years. In 1914 he attended the summer school at the University of Michigan, and in 1915 he was appointed to the English Department at Bucknell where he rose to the rank of professor. In 1920, he left Bucknell and moved to the University of Michigan. He earned his Ph.D. in 1922, and joined the faculty of the English Department at

Michigan. He became a full professor in 1928, and stayed at the University of Michigan the rest of his life. He retired in 1958 as professor emeritus, and died in late 1967.

Fries's work with the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan in the 1930s, 40s and 50s brought him into contact with many foreign students who later became professors in their homelands. Some of them translated his books and articles into Japanese and other languages, which gave him worldwide fame among English professors.

He also taught courses in the College of Education, in which he helped train teachers of English. From this he retained a strong lifelong interest in pedagogy and how to educate teachers who could educate students.

Fries began his career just as American colleges and universities were switching over from having all students study classical languages and literature to having students educated in an all–English curriculum. He promoted the changeover.

Fries early came into conflict with English grammarians. His doctoral dissertation was on: "The Periphrastic Future of Shall and Will in Modern English." He published his ideas in the Journal of the Modern Language Association and provoked a storm of controversy with certain purists and newspaper editors. In his dissertation, he traced the standard prescription of when to use shall and will to grammarians in the eighteenth century who devised the rule because they thought it was more logical. English grammarians have always promoted the rule, but from the eighteenth century onward hardly anyone has ever obeyed it.

Every article in the book under review deals with some aspect of Fries's work, and as a whole the book gives the reader a rather complete view of Fries's contribution. In doing so it clarifies some of the recent history of American linguistics. I think it is a book that every graduate student in linguistics should read in the course of his or her studies.

Here are some of the articles I found most interesting:

The first article in Part I is *Education of English Teachers* by Harold B. Allen. Fries believed in education, not just training. He believed

an English teacher should know the structure of English (as it is actually used), the dialects of English, and the history of English. Only a teacher so educated could answer the questions that might come up and could make the class more interesting.

The second article is *Charles Carpenter Fries and the Teaching of English* by Archibald A. Hill. Fries believed that literature should be studied for its art and for its meaning. Matters of style should be studied in terms of the author's intention, not in terms of correct and incorrect grammar.

Robert C. Jones's *American English Grammar* is a friendly letter written to C. C. Fries. Jones reports that Fries's ideas on teaching English literature have not been followed for various reasons. There are English teachers who still teach literature in terms of correct and incorrect grammar instead of for the art and the meaning of the literature. On the other hand, Fries's findings on American English grammar have been accepted and are still used. One example is the use of a plural verb with *none* or *any* or other indefinite pronouns, as in "None of the students have pencils" or "Anybody with lots of friends never have to feel alone."

In Part II, Sydney Greenbaum's article *C. C. Fries' Signals Model of English Grammar* describes Fries's work in syntax. (Fries was working on English syntax while linguists were still working on phonology and morphology.) Fries wanted to capture what a hearer uses to understand speech. He wanted to know the signals in a sentence that tell the hearer how to structure that sentence. So he looked at function words and word order patterns along with four major word classes that correspond roughly to nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs to construct a syntax of American English. He also discussed the various relationship meanings of nouns to verbs and modifiers to heads.

Richard W. Bailey's article *Charles C. Fries and the Early Modern English Dictionary* is interesting for its historical account of Fries's work on the early modern English dictionary during the thirties and forties. The project was abandoned in the years after the Second World War. Had he finished the dictionary, it would have been a very large dictionary because he and his helpers were making very large entries, with many examples from the old literature. In spite of its size, it would have been exciting to peruse.

In Part III Marcel Danesi's *Charles Fries and Contrastive Analysis* and Frederick J. Bosco's *Pattern-practice Revisited* tell of Fries's work with the teaching of English to students from other countries. Some of his ideas have been distorted and rejected, but taken as he originally wrote about language teaching his ideas are still good.

Virginia French Allen's *Legacy From a Last Chapter* is an enthusiastic recounting of how Fries insisted that literature and linguistics should be a part of language teaching, thus making second language learning more interesting. ■

Sentence initial devices. Edited by Joseph E. Grimes. 1986. Dallas: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington. Paper. vi, 233pp.

Reviewed by BARBARA E. HOLLENBACH

SIL, Mexico Branch in Tucson

Sentence Initial Devices is a collection of twelve papers on languages of Brazil, Colombia, and Panama, originally written at two workshops on discourse directed by Joseph Grimes in 1976 and 1977. Ten languages are involved, spanning a wide range of genetic groupings. Given the variety of themes that the papers treat, the title is a fairly successful attempt to find a common denominator in their contents.

Two papers treat languages where new information tends to come at the beginning of the sentence, rather than at the end, as is typical for English. One of these languages (Xavante) is verb final, while the other (Gavião) allows considerable freedom in the order of phrases because an auxiliary and a variety of other particles provide a roadmap for each clause.

Five papers (on four languages) treat topicalization, but a different approach was used for each language. Some idea of the variety can be gained by comparing the kinds of topics described in each study: global and local (Coreguaje), clause and paragraph (Teribe), subsidiary-level, paragraph, and episode (Jamamadí), clause and span

(Nambiquara). Elsewhere in the volume the term sentence topic is used for Tucano, and clause topic for Xavante and Gavião.

A useful distinction is made in some papers between fronting, i.e., simply placing a constituent in initial position, and left dislocation (also called reprise), which involves both placing a constituent in initial position and using a coreferential pro–form in its normal position. Left dislocation sometimes marks a more important topic than simple fronting does.

Four papers specifically treat what Grimes calls connectives, but most other papers in the volume give at least some attention to them. Connectives are the words and idiomatic sequences of words that occur at the beginning of a full sentence to link it with the discourse context. (Some English examples are *therefore, nevertheless, and then, after that,* and *on the other hand.*) The diversity of viewpoint expressed in these papers can be illustrated by the variety of names employed for connectives: conjunctions, free conjunctions, higher–level conjunctions, connectors, particles, connectives, and referential connectives. Given the fact that English dictionaries list *therefore* and *nevertheless* as adverbs, it is interesting that no one chose a term like linking adverbs or higher–level adverbs.

Such elements often contain a preposition or conjunction together with a pro–form, often a demonstrative, that refers to the previous context. The same strategy is common in the Otomanguean languages of Mexico and the Indo–European languages I am acquainted with, and I suspect it is a universal tendency.

Chapman's paper on Paumarí interrogatives is intriguing because of the way in which some elements are questioned by using a pro–verb *do.* This form is used not only to question the verb itself, but also together with a more specific verb to question various nonnuclear elements of the clause.

It is difficult to find a good format for the long examples needed to illustrate studies on discourse structure. In most papers the examples were set off from the paragraphs and numbered, but I often found them hard to follow. Some of them were so long that the idiom, gloss, and free translation each took up two or more lines, and the gloss line often contained long sequences of grammatical categories. Lining up glosses under each idiom word would have taken more

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space, but would have made it much easier to process the examples. Even simply adding a small amount of space between numbered examples, between idiom and gloss, and between gloss and free translation would have helped by reducing the cluttered appearance considerably. In one paper the examples were included within paragraphs, but a gloss in parentheses and a free translation were provided for each clause, and I found them quite easy to follow.

The insights found in these papers will be of interest to students of South American languages, which have received considerable attention from the scholarly world in recent years, and also to linguists interested in universals of discourse structure. Even though many of the papers would have benefited by further editing and more careful proofreading, it was probably a wise decision to publish them as they are. Grimes and the authors are to be commended for making so much useful material available. ■

Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America (Number 9: 1987). Edited by Richard W. Bailey with Marsha L. Dutton. Terre Haute, Indiana: Dictionary Society of North America. vii, 279pp.

Reviewed by DWIGHT DAY

This volume offers fourteen articles and seven book reviews on a broad range of topics of interest to anyone concerned with the lexicographer's task – producing a dictionary. Nearly all of them, including some on highly specialized topics, address problems that lexicographers face in elucidating the meanings of words.

Naturally, some articles will have more general relevance than others. For lack of space, this review will regrettably omit mention or give only passing mention to several of the articles.

The article that seems most broadly helpful to dictionary editors is the first: Ladislav Zgusta's *Translational Equivalence in a Bilingual Dictionary*. In his article, Zgusta effectively analyzes the definition or meaning equivalent in a bilingual dictionary in terms of two desired

qualities: "translationality" (or insertability) and explanatory power. In monolingual or bilingual defining, insertablility and explanatory power most obviously correspond to single-word and phrasal meaning equivalents which are offered as definitions of an entry word. As Zgusta points out, the phrasal definition may in some cases be explanatory and insertable at the same time, but the single-word equivalent at best only points to a word which is a reliable meaning substitute for the entry word in a definable range of contexts. One problem of particular interest to professional translators is the tension encountered between the dictionary's basic function of defining words and the translator's need for idiomatic equivalents of larger grammatical units. Monolingual and bilingual dictionary definers deal with an analogous problem as they identify and treat idiomatic phrases. Another question concerns the so-called etymological information in a definition, which is based on the entry word's derivation or on a literal translation of its compound elements. Zgusta rightly points out the need to bracket off such information from the meaning equivalent in some way. Merriam-Webster English dictionaries, for example, strictly exclude etymological information from definitions altogether, relegating it to a word-entry section explicitly set apart as etymology. Zgusta's article gives a rich offering of word-entry examples from a wide cultural and historical spectrum of bilingual dictionaries. All are well calculated to make important points (many more than the two I have touched on) about producing meaning equivalents for bilingual dictionaries and, at least by analogy, for monolingual dictionaries as well.

D. A. Jost and A. C. Crocker in *The Handling of Down Syndrome and Related Terms in Modern Dictionaries* deal with a term needing treatment by an orismologist (technical definer). Between them they bring exact medical description, breadth of historical perspective and professional sensitivity to the touchy question of possibly offensive language. This is done through an admirable word study, although the study is frankly motivated by the authors' advocacy of a social cause.

Hans-Erich Keller's *Neglected Old French Lexicographical Resources* gives a rigorous historical, bibliographical and linguistic analysis of medieval lexicographical documents of the Old French period. Keller suggests a computer-assisted approach to mining these lexicographical resources in order to bring about, in fairly short

deserve more specific and favorable attention on the part of word definers.

A review by D. A. Gold of Sol Steinmetz's *Yiddish and English: A Century of Yiddish in America* offers an interesting study of the strong linguistic influence of English on Yiddish as spoken in the U. S., but at greater length and with more wealth of data than needed in a review. R. W. Bailey (the editor of *Dictionaries*) reviews longtime dictionary observer K. G. Wilson's book *Van Winkle's Return: Change in American English, 1966–86.* He finds an interesting and insightful comparison of American English as reported in major desk dictionaries, although Wilson's analysis is somewhat marred by historical errors in dating his examples of innovations in usage.

Tadeusz Piotrowski's review of Ivan Poldauf's 1986 *Czech–English Dictionary* qualifies admiration of Poldauf's bilingual lexicography. Piotrowski finds that Poldauf produces good translational equivalents and good additional syntactic helps on both "sides" of the dictionary. J. E. Iannucci reports that in M. Benson, E. Benson and R. Ilson's *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*, we have a pioneer work that offers for the foreign learner of English a remarkably organized list of both grammatical and lexical collocations ("fixed, identifiable, non–idiomatic phrases and constructions") that teaches him, for example, to send *warm regards* but not **hot regards.* ■

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

It has been several years since we last put together an index. This compilation lists all materials published in *NL* since its inception 14½ years (53 issues) ago. The subject matter is categorized three ways: by author, by title, and by keyword.

The author index consists of an alphabetical listing of authors which is printed in bold type. Under each name contributions are listed in order by the issue and page number where the work can be found. Following this reference number for each entry is the title of the work, then the mention of secondary authors (if any). Throughout this volume, titles are indicated by italic print and book review titles consist of a bibliographic listing of the item reviewed.

Titles in the title index are subdivided into the following categories: Abstracts, Articles, Computing in Linguistics, Dissertation Abstracts, Editorials, Letters, Reports, Reviews (of books), Special Publications, Technical Memo Abstracts, Thesis Abstracts, and Workshop Abstracts. The category headings are set off by bold type, and titles are arranged alphabetically beneath each one. Following the title for each entry is the name of the author(s) and the reference number.

Only Articles and Reviews appear in the keyword index. Keywords are listed alphabetically in bold type. Under each keyword is a set of articles and/or book reviews whose contents are associated with that heading. Naturally, some titles appear under several headings. Entries appear in numerical order by reference number. Following the reference number is the title of the article or the bibliographic listing of the book review, and the name of the author(s).

Of special note in the keyword index is the way languages are listed. Articles concerning specific languages are categorized according to area, region, or language family. As a result, they may be listed in several places in the index. For example, an article about the language *Guyana Arawak* is found listed under **Amerindian Languages** as well as **Arawakan Languages** and **Guyana, Languages**.

–Robin Lombard
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33:53–59 *Foley, William A. and Robert D. Van Valin. 1984. Functional syntax and universal grammar. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

Busenitz, Robert and Michael Martens

10:10–27 *Considerations for language identification surveys*

Busenitz, Marilyn J.

07:03–20 *Core bibliography of the Philippines*

Buth, Randall John

22:46 *An introductory study of the paragraph structure of Biblical Hebrew*

26:54–55 *Kutscher, Eduard Yechezel. 1982. A history of the Hebrew language. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.*

Camburn, Jan

32:20–26 *The French Connection in linguistics*

Campbell, Bob and Barbara Campbell

19:10–20 *Preliminary observations concerning the rarity of exact repetition in Jamamadi*

Carcelen, Cecilia M.

03:33 *The coordinate, antithetical and alternative sentences in Spanish*

Carlson, Robert

43:38 *Report on WALS congress*

Casad, Eugene H.

43:39–58 *Asia area survey conference*

45:62–63 *Report on cognitive linguistics conference* with David Tuggy

Caughley, Ross Charles

23:37 *The syntax and morphology of the verb in Chepang*

Chamberlain, Kim

14:42 *Frantz, Donald G. 1979. Grammatical relations in universal grammar, 1979 Work Papers of SIL, University of North Dakota, Vol. 23 supplement. Huntington Beach, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.*

Chase, Gene

06:47 *Status of microprocessors with SIL*

Christian, Imanuel Gulabbhai

28:40–41 *Linguistic and cultural analysis of three Gujarati folktales*

Clifton, John

20:36–37 *Phonologically possible rules and dependency relations: A study in stop/fricative variation*

Cobbey, Maxwell Elliot

21:51 *A mechanical method for discovering lexical equivalents between any two languages, based on input of equivalent texts*

Cobbey, Vurnell

25:45 *Rehg, Kenneth L. and Damian G. Sohl. 1981. A Ponapean reference grammar. (PALI Language Texts: Micronesia.) Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.*

Cochran, Anne M.

06:38 *Alphabet design for Papua New Guinea languages*

Coke, Hugh Milton, Jr.

11:44 *Bible translation and the emerging church*

Colburn, Michael Allen

17:23–29 *To ask or not to ask, that is the question*

23:43 *The functions and meanings of the Erima deictic articles*

Collins, Wesley M.

11:03–13 *An unlikely marriage: A merger of prosodic and phonemic analysis*

33:66 *The VII Taller Maya, Merida, Mexico*

46:04–11 *Survey report of "A Dialect Survey in the Mam area of Guatemala"*

51:39–41 *The VIII LAILA symposium and the XII Taller Maya*

Combs, Martin

31:38–40 *Kloss, Heinz and Grant D. McConnell, eds. 1981. Linguistic composition of the Nations of the world. (Oceana, Vol. 4.) Quebec: Les Presses de l'universite Laval.*

Comrie, Bernard

41:04–06 *The role of the field linguist*

Cook, Dorothy

04:30 *Coreguaje dependent verb suffixes*

Corrigan, David

26:39 *Roman Jakobson (1896–1982)*

Courtz, Henk

38:39–43 *On the validity of the tagmemic clause level*

Cowan, George

20:22–24 *Whistled communication*

Crandall, Dale S.

07:33 *Some aspects of Hungarian vowel harmony*

Croese, Robert

26:23–26 *Classification of narrative types*

Crowell, Jan

06:44–47 *Text collections: What are they good for and how are they made?*

Crowell, Thomas Harris

14:14 *Brazilian Society for the Progress of Science*

27:40 *A grammar of Bororo*

Currier, Constance Elizabeth

02:38 *Participant reference in Bahasa Indonesia narrative discourse*

Daly, Margaret

11:42–43 *Abstracts of papers presented at the 77th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Los Angeles, November 14–18, 1978.*

Davies, John Herbert

04:34 *Kobon phonology*

Davis, Alice

04:41 *Conference on the history and making of dictionaries*

09:43–44 *Monsoon 1978 IMTI Linguistics Course*

Davis, Donald R.

02:41 *Bailey, Kenneth E. 1976. Poet and peasant. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co.*

Davis, Irvine

05:44 *Editing Seminar, June 6–17, 1977*

Day, Dwight

48:27–38 *Editing the Shipibo dictionary according to Merriam Webster style*

52:39–40 *Guidelines for writing book reviews*

53:55–59 *Bailey, Richard W. with Marsha L. Dutton. 1987. Dictionaries: Journal of the dictionary society of North America. (Number 9: 1987.) Terre Haute, Indiana: Dictionary Society of North America.*

Deibler, Ellis W. Jr.

43:31–35 *The function of glottal stop in Gahuku*

DeLancey, Scott and Thomas Payne

37:05–43 *Semantics master bibliography*

Derbyshire, Desmond C.

19:21–32 *Language universals, syntactic typology, and diachronic syntax: A select bibliography with introductory survey*

Dick Elkins

24:39 *Linguist's lament*

Diehl, Lon G.

23:38–39 *Lexical-generative grammar: Toward a lexical conceptional linguistic structure*

25:53 *15th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics*

Dinsmore, John David

27:38 *Pragmatics, formal theory, and the analysis of presupposition*

Dooley, Robert A.

17:45–46 *Givón, Talmy, ed. 1979. Syntax and semantics, vol 12: Discourse and syntax. New York: Academic Press.*

21:49–50 *Gunter, Richard. 1974. Sentences in dialog. Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam Press.*

22:52–56 *Latin America Area Linguistic Update Seminar*

26:44–47 *Searle, John R., Ferenc Kiefer, and Manfred Bierwisch, eds. 1980. Speech act theory and pragmatics. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.*

28:04–12 *Grammaticalization: An introduction*

29:65–66 *Reinhart, Tanya. 1982. Pragmatics and linguistics: An analysis of sentence topics. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.*

44:34–50 *Suggestions for the field linguist regarding quotations*

Dye, T. Wayne

12:25–26 *The Bible translation strategy: An analysis of its spiritual impact.*

Dyk, Steven

15:41 *Waugh, Linda R. and C. H. Schooneveld, eds. 1980. The melody of language: Intonation and prosody. Baltimore: University Park Press.*

Eakin, Lucy

31:31–34 *Location in Yaminahua Folk Tales*

Echerd, Stephen

08:39 *Maya Workshop III, Guatemala*

16:27–32 *L(anguage) E(xploration) and A(cquistion) P(rocedures): Report and evaluation of the Guatemala Spanish program*

33:66–67 *The LACUS Forum XI*

Edmondson, Jerold A.

25:54 *13th International Congress of Linguists*

30:39–47 *Neurolinguistics: A justification and bibliography*

Edwards, Walter F.

06:18–24 *An overview of Guyana Arawak phonology*

Egner, Inge

17:30–31 *Tips on reading in linguistics*

51:51–52 *The International Pragmatics Conference*

Elliott, Ray

12:26–27 *Text analysis, phonological rules and causal speech processes of Nebaj Ixil.*

Everett, Daniel and Luci Seki

33:48–52 *Deletion, Reduplication, and CV Skeleta in Kamaiura*

Everett, Daniel L.

12:44 *Feedback on branch management.*

15:43 *Leech, Geoffrey. 1974. Semantics. New York: Penguin Books.*

16:42 *Fromkin, Victoria, ed. 1978. Tone: A linguistic survey. New York: Academic Press.*

21:52–54 *Winter Institute of Linguistics and International Encounter in the Philosophy of Language*

22:24–30 *Some remarks on "Minimal pairs"*

27:42 *Second Annual West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*

29:16–24 *An elementary sketch of Government Binding Theory*

29:67 *A Lingua Piraha E A Teoria Da Sintaxe.*

29:68–69 *The X International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*

30:49–50 *Shores, David L. and Carole P. Hines, eds. 1977. Papers in language variation: SAMLA-ADS collection. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press.*

33:40–47 *A note on ergativity, s' and s" in Karitiana*

Ezard, Bryan

29:05–15 *The functional domain of passives*

Fluckiger, Cheryl

01:19 *Roberts, Joan I. and Sherrie K. Akinsanya, eds. 1976. Educational patterns and cultural configurations: The anthropology of education. New York: David McKay.*

Forster, D. Keith

14:15–27 *Pedagogical grammars*

Frank, David Benjamin

08:36 *Some principles of higher-level linguistic analysis as applied to "The fable of the good lion" (Hemmingway)*

21:45–47 *Rochester, Sherry and J. R. Martin. 1979. Crazy talk: A study of the discourse of schizophrenic speakers. New York: Plenum.*

25:55 *4th Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics*

30:55–56 *Conversation and the speech situation: A tagmemic analysis*

Frank, Lynn E.

24:44–45 *Steinberg, Faith S. 1980. Age-related differences in second language acquisition. The Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest. 236–45.*

25:34–37 *Characteristic features of oral and written modes of language*

Frank, Paul S.

24:20 *In memory of Dr. Yuen Ren Chao*

26:43 *Hymes, Dell and John Fought. 1981. American structuralism. (Janua Linguarum, Series Maior, 102.) The Hague: Mouton.*

45:14–29 *The verb phrase in Ika*

46:12–29 *The verb phrase in Ika (part two)*

Frank, Vernon Reynolds

03:34 *The Proto-Mayan verb phrase*

Franklin, Karl J.

01:03–04 *Notes On Linguistics: Scope and purpose*

01:04–06 *Linguistic Coordinator: Why?*

01:18 *Naden, A. J., ed. 1975. Collected notes on some North-Ghanaian kinship systems. Ghana: Institute of linguistics.*

01:19 *Fischer-Jorgensen. 1975. Trends in phonological theory: A historical introduction. Copenhagen: Ahademisk Forlag.*

02:03–06 *What do we have to do now to obtain our objectives tomorrow?*

02:41 *The 8th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences in Leeds*

02:48 *Comments on NL, No. 1*

03:03–12 *Abstracts, notes, reviews, and other matters*

07:45 *News of SIL International Linguistic advisors*

08:06–15 *On the management of SIL language programs*

09:32 *Notes On Linguistics: Two years after*

19:44–45 *Hill, Kenneth C., ed. 1979. The genesis of language. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

31:36–38 *Hesseling, Dirk Christiaan. 1979. On the origin and formation of creoles: A miscellany of articles. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc. (Translated and edited by T. L. Markey and Paul T. Roberge.)*

39:47–51 *Wierzbicka, Anna. 1985. Lexicography and conceptual analysis. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

Franklin, Karl J. and Robert Litteral

23:04–15 *Comparing expatriate and mother tongue translation programs*

Frantz, Donald G.

07:45 *Universal grammar, UND–SIL.*

09:03–13 *Grammatical relations in universal grammar*

13:12–20 *Role vs. slot in tagmemics and relational grammar*

Franusich, Anne

16:41 *Jeffers, Robert J. and Ilse Lehiste. 1979. Principles and methods for historical linguistics. Cambridge: MIT Press.*

Friberg, Timothy

23:40 *New Testament Greek word order in light of discourse considerations*

Fries, Peter H.

12:03–13 *Tagmemics*

25:17–23 *Language and interactive behavior: The language of bridge*

Fukuda, Takashi

27:40 *A discourse-oriented grammar of Eastern Bontoc*

Fuller, Eugene E.

24:48 *A study of Navajo maintenance and shift*

Fullingim, Mike

23:32–34 *Eikmeyer, Hans-Jurgen and Hannes Reiser, eds. 1981. Words, worlds and contexts: New approaches in word semantics. (Research in Text Theory, 6.) Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.*

23:35–36 *Dressler, Wolfgang U., ed. 1978. Current trends in textlinguistics. (Research in Text Theory, 2.) Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.*

23:44–47 *The Symposium to Inaugurate the Department of Linguistics and Semiotics*

24:42–44 *Enkvist, Nils Erik and Viljo Kohonen, eds. 1976. Reports on text linguistics: Approaches to word order. Abo: Academy of Finland.*

Funk, Marilyn A.

08:16–21 *Teaching literal and figurative meanings using food vocabulary*

Gallman, Andrew Franklin

03:34–35 and 07:33 *A reconstruction of Proto-Mansakan*

Giezendanner, Jennifer G.

29:63–65 *Mitchell, W. J. T., ed. 1981. On narrative. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.*

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25:46–47 *Borg, Albert L. 1981. A study of aspect in Maltese. (Linguistica Extranea, Studia 15.) Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

Gilley, Leoma

18:45 *de Beaugrande, Robert. 1980. Text, discourse and process. Advances in discourse processes, ed. by Roy O. Freedle. (Series IV.) Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.*

Glass, Amee

26:15–22 *Ngaanyatjarra non-indicative sentences: A semantic analysis*

Gleason, H. A.

21:19–20 *Examples of the hazards of over-reliance on dictionary equivalents*

Glock, Naomi

08:44–48 *Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics*

Gordon, Kent

15:03–04 *Reader's forum: A context-centered approach to field work*

Gordon, Raymond

17:49 *Symbolic manipulation of orthography*

Graham, Mack

20:18–21 *Louisiana Creole survey methodology*

Grainger, P. J.

09:38 *The effect of steady-state and transition vowel on the perception of final stops in English*

Gralow, Francis L.

04:30 *Topicalization and constituency in Coreguaje narrative*

43:04–06 *How to make your junior partner an equal partner*

Gregerson, Ken

01:18 *Scheerer, Martin. 1973. Problem solving. Scientific American, April 1973.*

05:16–17 *Some thoughts on writing technical papers*

06:37 *Predicate and argument in Rengao grammar*

12:22 *On describing linguistic traditions*

12:38 *Linguistics update Seminar at Ukarumpa*

13:50 *Singapore Regional Seminar on Bilingualism*

16:43–44 *Thompson, Laurence C. 1979. Control in Salish grammar. Working Papers in Linguistics 11.1. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.*

Grimes, Barbara Dix and Charles E. Grimes

41:57–58 *Report on VICAL: The Fifth International Conference On Austronesian Linguistics*

Grimes, Barbara F.

02:42–44 *Ethnologue progress report*

29:25–34 *Language attitudes: Identity, distinctiveness, survival in the Vaupes*

31:26–30 *Second language proficiency report*

33:05–27 *Evaluating bilingual proficiency in language groups for cross-cultural communication*

35:19–39 *Regional and other nonstandard dialects of major languages*

38:26–30 *Good surveys: Diagnosing vernacular literature need 6/86*

40A:34–54 *How bilingual is bilingual?*

42:39–64 *Why test intelligibility?*

47:41–63 *Special considerations for Creole surveys*

Grimes, Charles E.

39:25–46 *Mapping a culture through networks of meaning*

48:58–59 *On the Austronesian Project Symposium*

Grimes, Joseph E.

04:08–10 *Information processing technology: On and off the field*

13:21–30 *Systematic analysis of meaning*

26:58 *Linguistic Society of America 1982 Annual Meeting*

41:19–33 *Correlations between vocabulary similarity and intelligibility*

Hagberg, Larry

22:35 *Deshpande, Madhav M. 1979. Sociolinguistic attitudes in India: An historical reconstruction. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

38:44 *Stress and Length in Mayo of Sonora*

Hale, Austin

05:18–22 *The personal element in planning research*

06:25–28 *A brief for grammatical thumbnail sketches*

Hall, William Curtis

30:56 *Some aspects of formal speech among the Western Subanon of Mindanao*

Hansford, Gillian

52:17–28 *Will Kofi understand the white woman's dictionary?*

Hari, Anna Maria

05:33 *An investigation of the tones of Lhasa Tibetan*

Harmelink, Bryan

48:41–51 *Computing in linguistics: Using tables in Microsoft Word*

50:25–33 *Using bookmarks as cross references in WORD*

51:05–16 *Primer formatting with Microsoft WORD*

52:29–36 *Tips about WORD*

Harris, Stephen George

05:33–34 *Milinginbi Aboriginal learning contexts*

Harrison, Alec

50:09–10 *Language learning tips*

Hartell, Rhonda L.

27:31–32 *Grimes, José E. y otros. 1981. El Huichol: Apuntes sobre el lexico. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.*

43:36–37 *Wiesemann, Ursula, ed. 1986. Pronominal systems. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.*

Haugen, Einar

12:14–20 *An ecological model for bilingualism*

Healey, Alan

03:20–26 *Teaching introductory linguistic analysis*

04:44–45 *Australian Aborigines Branch Workshop, July 12–August 18, 1977*

Henderson, James

20:30–34 *Instrumental help in phonology*

Henne, David

28:16–21 *Some crucial issues in language planning*

Hensarling, Grace E.

11:14–29 *Core bibliography of Columbia*

Hill, Harriet

49:51–55 *Another language learning gauge*

50:04–08 *Text-based language learning*

Hohulin, E. Lou

04:43 *Seminar for Asia Area Linguistics*

25:48–49 *Pêcheux, Michel. 1982. Language, semantics and ideology. New York: St. Martin's Press. (Translated from the French version of 1975.)*

26:04–14 *For the sake of argument*

42:65–72 *Lakoff, George. 1987. Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Hollenbach, Barbara

33:64 *The phonology and morphology of tone and laryngeals in Copala Trique*

53:53–55 *Grimes, Joseph E., ed. 1986. Sentence initial devices. Dallas: The Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.*

Hoopert, Daniel A., and Viola Warkentin

04:11–16 *Tila Chol "come", and "go", and "arrive"*

Howell, Ramond, Stephen McConnel, and Gary Simons

22:04–09 *PTP – A text processing language for personal computers*

Hudson, Joyce

24:47 *Grammatical and semantic aspects of Fitzroy Crossing Valley Kriol*

Hunt, Geoffrey

16:37–40 *A logical development*

20:03–04 *Your problem has a solution*

41:14–18 *Tone and stress analysis by computer*

47:04–25 *My logic doesn't match yours: Limits to translation imposed by cognitive development*

50:35–37 *Computer training at SIL Schools*

Huttar, George L.

01:25–26 *Consultants' Seminar in PNG 1976* with D. Thomas

13:03 *Editorial*

13:04–07 *Getting together: Who's interested in what?*

13:51 *Non-English Variation in the Western Hemisphere*

14:04–05 *Browsing in the literature, or visiting the dump for fun and profit*

14:06–09 *Getting together: Interests, Part II*

16:03 *Editorial*

16:52–53 *Sociolinguistic survey seminar*

18:50–52 *Society for Caribbean Linguistics Third Biennial Conference* with Ron Binder

22:03 *Linguistics for the third world*

22:31–34 *Sampson, Geoffrey. 1980. Schools of linguistics: Competition and evolution. London: Hutchinson.*

22:34–35 *Some further reading on the history of linguistics*

23:03 *Getting together: Interests, Part V*

23:26–31 *Linguistic pragmatics*

29:57–60 *Milroy, Lesley. 1980. Language and social networks. London: Basil Blackwell and Baltimore: University Park Press.*

33:69 *Fifth Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Kingston, Jamaica*

36:50–52 *Hancock, Ian F., ed. 1985. Diversity and development in English-related creoles. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

Huyett, Martin

07:39–41 *Progress on the Mark I microprocessor*

Hwang, Shin Ja Joo

03:35 *Korean clause structures: Surface structure types and deep structure roles*

18:37–40 *Cook, Walter A. 1979. Case grammar: Development of the matrix model (1970–1978). Washington: Georgetown University Press.*

28:41–42 *Aspects of Korean narration*

Indonesia Branch

27:24–25 *The blank thesaurus*

Ireland, Todd G.

27:31 *Berke, Bradley. 1982. Tragic thought and the grammar of tragic myth. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.*

30:53–54 *Hawkins, Emily A. 1982. Pedagogical grammar of Hawaiian: Recurrent problems. Manoa, Hawaii: Hawaiian Studies Program.*

Irwin, Barry Sidney

07:46–47 *1977 South Pacific School of SIL*

12:43 *South Pacific SIL*

28:42 *An introduction to information structure in Salt-Yui discourse*

Jarvis, Elizabeth

21:55 *International Colloquium on the Chadic Language Family*

Jefferson, Kathy

21:21–25 *Comments on Forster's article on pedagogical grammars*

Jernudd, Bjorn H.

24:21–28 *Subjective varieties of Pidgin in Papua New Guinea*

Johnston, Raymond L.

09:37–38 *Nakanai syntax.*

10:28–30 *What can we do with our data?*

Jones, Larry B.

15:44–45 *Pragmatic aspects of English text structure*

41:34–40 *A sentence-based method for intelligibility testing*

Jones, Linda K.

05:30–32 *Pike, Kenneth L. and Evelyn G. Pike. 1977. Grammatical Analysis. Summer Institute of Linguistics and University of Texas at Arlington, Publication 53.*

43:22–30 *In pursuit of discourse particles*

Kana, Marit

03:32 *The design and evaluation of a course in conversational Indonesian*

Karn, Gloria Jean

03:36 *Tuyuca plot structure – a pilot study*

Kaufman, Terrence

30:56–57 *Constructive Criticism*

Kaye, Alan S.

48:60–63 *DeFrancis, John. 1984. The Chinese language: Fact and fantasy. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.*

49:57–59 *Buck, Carl Darling. 1988. A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

49:59–65 *Aitchison, Jean. 1987. Words in the mind: An introduction to the mental lexicon. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.* with Ken McDaniel

50:39–43 *Hadlich, Roger L. and J. D. Ellsworth, eds. 1988. East meets west: Homage to Edgar C. Knowlton, Jr. Honolulu: Department of European Languages and Literature, College of Language, Linguistic and Literatures.*

52:41–47 *Carroll, John B., ed. 1988. Language, thought, and reality: The selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press. (18th printing).*

Kehler, T. P. and Donald A. Burquest

02:13–22 *Now the computer can learn Choctaw grammar*

Keller, Barbara L.

28:22–31 *An annotated bibliography on the relationship between language and identity*

Keller, Charles E.

02:38 *A grammatical sketch of Brao, a Mon-Khmer language*

Keller, Sally

02:37 *English–Khmer medical dictionary*

Kennedy, Rod

32:16–19 *Broken: The language spoken by Torres Strait Islanders*

Kindell, Gloria

25:25–34 *Bibliography of spoken and written language* with Jean Leutkemeyer and Caroline Van Antwerp

King, Julie

41:56 *The Fifth International Conference On Austronesian Linguistics*

Knudson Jr., Lyle M.

02:36–37 *A natural phonology and morphophonemics of Chinalapa Zoque*

Koontz, Carol

04:31 *Staging in Teribe discourse*

Kroeger, Paul

18:18–23 *A phonetic orthography for computer application*

50:11–24 *Lexical phonology and the rebirth of the phoneme*

Lamb, Sydney M.

06:29–33 *Recognition memory (REM)*

Lander, Doris Virginia

03:36–37 *Syllable theory in natural phonology*

Landin, David

05:37–38 *Field Equipment: The AIWA TP-77OH*

Larson, Mildred

05:35–36 *The functions of reported speech in discourse*

09:14–18 *The communication situation and rhetorical questions*

19:46 *Sampson, Geoffrey. 1980. Making sense. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.*

Law, Howard

45:04–07 *Writing "nickel knowledge" articles*

48:04–07 *The Indians do say ugh-ugh!*

52:11–16 *Writing for scholarly publications*

52:56–58 *Tehan, Thomas M. 1988. Children in the New Testament: A linguistic and historical analysis. MI: University Microfilms International.*

Lehmann, Winfred P.

23:22–25 *Linguistics at Wisconsin (1937–41) and at Texas (1949–): A retrospective view*

30:11–15 *The Glottalic Theory*

Leutkemeyer, Jean, Caroline Van Antwerp, and Gloria Kindell

25:25–34 *Bibliography of spoken and written language*

Levinsohn, Stephen H.

02:45–47 *Panama workshop*

17:48 *Relationships between constituents beyond the clause in the Acts of the Apostles*

30:58–60 *Linguistics Association of Great Britain – Autumn meeting, 1983*

30:60 *Tenth International Systemic Workshop*

35:51–52 *Linguistics Association of Great Britain, Liverpool, September 1985*

Litteral, Robert

06:41 *The 1977 LSA Summer Linguistic Institute*

07:42–43 *SIL summer course at UPNG*

16:46–47 *Features of Anggor discourse*

23:04–15 *Comparing expatriate and mother tongue translation programs* with Karl Franklin

31:05–19 *Typological parameters of vernacular language planning*

Lloyd, Linda Kathryn

05:35 *A discourse analysis of Hebrews*

Longacre, Robert E.

02:23–30 *Recent discourse structure contributions*

04:17–29 *A discourse manifesto*

05:38 *Impressions of the Symposium on Syntax and Discourse*

10:48 *Ninth Annual Meeting of NELS*

11:48 *53rd Annual Meeting of LSA, December 28–30, 1978.*

15:05–22 *An apparatus for the identification of paragraph types*

20:39–40 *International Symposium on Switch Reference and Universal Grammar*

41:47–48 *A brief note regarding discourse-centered PhD. studies at UTA*

Longacre, Robert, ed. and Frances Woods, assistant ed.

03:40–48 *Discourse grammar: Studies in indigenous languages of Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador. Parts 2 and 3*

Loos, Eugene

32:03–04 *Coordinator's Corner*

33:03–04 *Coordinator's Corner*

34:03–04 *Coordinator's Corner*

35:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

36:03–04 *Coordinator's Corner*

37:03–04 *Coordinator's Corner*

38:03–05 *Coordinator's Corner*

39:03–04 *Coordinator's Corner*

41:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

42:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

43:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

44:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

45:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

46:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

47:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

48:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

49:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

50:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

51:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

52:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

53:03 *Coordinator's Corner*

Loos, Eugene and Dan Tutton

49:43–46 *Using FIESTA to find the context for words in a list*

Loriot, James A.

08:22–24 *"Hierarchies" in a cognitive setting*

22:36–37 *Copi, Irving M. and Robert W. Beard. 1966. Essays on Wittgenstein's tractatus. Riverside, N.J.: Collier-Macmillan Distribution Center.*

30:51–53 *Journal of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest, Special issue: Text linguistics, Vol. III, No. 4, April 1981.*

32:28–32 *Pike, Kenneth L. 1982. Linguistic concepts: An introduction to tagmemics. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.*

Loski, Russel

27:39–40 *Subject deaccenting and the rhythm rule*

Louwerse, Jan

28:43 *The morphosyntax of Una in relation to discourse structure: A descriptive analysis*

Loving, Aretta

48:21–24 *Whatever happened to me? (An objective case study)*

Loving, Dick

01:27–28 *Editing Workshop held in Papua New Guinea (with Bibliography on editing)*

01:29 *1976 Dictionary production workshop in Papua New Guinea*

Lowe, Ivan

25:53–54 *9th International Systemic Workshop*

MacDonald, George E.

06:39 *Dadibi grammar: Morpheme to sentence*

Machin, Polly Pat

06:38–39 *Discourse markers in Northern Popoloca*

Mahaffy, Samuel G.

12:21–22 *The structure of abstracts*

Malou, Job Dharuai

28:42 *The Dinka vowel system*

Manabe, Takashi

03:37 *Analysis of the larger semantic units of the Epistle to the Philippians*

Mann, William C. and David Weber

Sp1:1–29 *A note on valence: Quechua vs Quichean*

15:29–40 *Assessing the prospects for computer-assisted dialect adaptation in a particular language*

20:25–29 *Prospects for computer-assisted dialect adaptation*

Marchese, Lynell

17:20–22 *Tips on writing papers*

22:44–45 and 26:56–57 *Tense/aspect and the development of auxiliaries in the Kru language family*

Marks, Donna Louise

03:37–38 *Zapotec verb morphology: Categories and tonomechanics with special attention to Sierra Juarez Zapotec*

Marlett, Stephen A.

02:37 *Copy-raising in Koine Greek*

09:19–23 *On the importance of morphophonemic alternation in phonological analysis*

14:28–32 *Phonology, orthography, and diacritics*

18:24–35 *Transitivity in two frameworks*

22:42–43 *The structure of Seri*

31:35–36 *Harris, James W. 1983. Syllable structure in Spanish: A nonlinear analysis. (Linguistic Inquiry Monograph, 8.) Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press.*

32:05–10 *Comments on Ezard's article, "The functional domains of passives"*

41:07–13 *Relational grammar: An update report*

51:36–38 *1990 Relational Grammar bibliography update*

Marmor, Thomas William

16:44 *A comparison of Kabiye adult and child narrative discourse*

Martens, Martha A.

11:42 *Gregory, Michael and Suzanne Carroll. 1978. Language and situation: Language varieties and their social contexts. London: Routledge.*

11:48 *Editing Seminar*

12:24 *Key, Mary Ritchie. 1975. Male/female language. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.*

12:39 *Intercultural Communications: Materials being developed at Brigham Young University*

Martens, Michael P.

09:33–34 *Daly John P., ed. 1978. 1978 work papers of SIL, University of North Dakota, vol. 22. Huntington Beach, CA: Summer Institute of Linguistics.*

09:34 *Pike, Kenneth L. and Ruth M. Brend eds. 1976 Tagmemics, vol. 2: Theoretical discussion. Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, ed. by W. Winter. Paris: Mouton.*

09:35 *Hudson, Richard A. 1976. Arguments for a non-transformational grammar. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

10:10–27 *Considerations for language identification surveys* with Robert Busenitz

10:41–42 *Anderson, John M. 1971. The grammar of case: Towards a localistic theory. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.*

10:41–42 *Anderson, John M. 1977. On case grammar: Prolegomena to a theory of grammatical relations. Croom Helm Linguistic Series. London: Humanities Press.*

11:41–42 *Li, Charles N., ed. 1977. Mechanisms of syntactic change. Austin: University of Texas Press.*

11:45–48 *Notes on program management in SIL*

12:23–24 *Foley, James. 1977. Foundations of theoretical phonology. Cambridge: University Press.*

32:27–28 *Lictenberk, Frantisec. 1983. A grammar of Manam. (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication, 18.) Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.*

Martens, Michael and Martha Martens

25:14–16 *The inelegant glottal: A problem in Uma phonology*

Maryott, Kenneth R.

34:25–40 *Pre-Sangir *l, *d, *r and associated phonemes*

Maxwell, Michael

28:13–15 *The generative revolution and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Part 1)*

29:35–47 *The generative revolution and The Summer Institute of Linguistics (Part 2)*

30:06–10 *Resegmenting as unit or sequence: Do we really need it?*

32:11–15 *Interface: Pike and Maxwell*

51:65–68 *Gazdar, Gerald, Alex Franz, and Karen Osborne. 1988. Natural language processing in the 1980's: A bibliography. (CLSI Lecture Notes, Number 12.) Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.*

52:49–56 *Pollard, Carl and Ivan A. Sag. 1987. Information-based syntax and semantics, volume I: Fundamentals. (CLSI Lecture Notes, Number 13.) Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.*

53:43–50 *Baltin, Mark R. and Anthony S. Kroch. 1989. Alternative conceptions of phrase structure. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.*

Mayers, Marvin K.

02:07–12 *Participant observation and cognitive studies*

06:42–43 *Staff development at Dallas SIL*

10:47 *Texas SIL 1977–78 school year*

McClure, David

13:08–11 *A language lab in a soapbox*

McConnel, Stephen

22:04–09 *PTP – A text processing language for personal computers* with Ramond Howell and Gary Simons

McCubbin, Mary Lynn

07:31–32 *Greenberg, Joseph H. 1977. A new invitation to linguistics. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.*

11:30–40 *Index to technical studies bulletins*

12:28–37 *Linguistics and linguistic-related journals in SIL Dallas library (a bibliography).*

McDaniel, Ken and Alan S. Kaye

49:59–65 *Aitchison, Jean. 1987. Words in the mind: An introduction to the mental lexicon. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.*

McElhanon, K. A.

21:04–18 *Supplementing the procedures*

26:47–50 *Levin, Samuel R. 1977. The semantics of metaphor. Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.*

27:36–37 *Mooij, J. J. A. 1976. A study of metaphor: On the nature of metaphorical expressions, with special reference to their reference. Amsterdam/New York/Oxford: North-Holland.*

McKinney, Carol

04:42 *Conference on African Linguistics, April 1–3, 1977*

17:44 *Cole, Michael, John Gay, Joseph A. Glick and Donald W. Sharp. 1971. The cultural context of learning and thinking. New York: Basic Books, Inc.*

McKinney, Norris P.

13:40–42 *News on computers and programs for linguists*

17:40–43 *Demarco, Tom. 1978. Structured analysis and system specification. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall, Inc.*

Meier, Inge

27:04–10 *Making tone markings acceptable and easy*

Mexico Branch Technical Studies Department

06:34–36 *Language proficiency tests*

Miehle, Helen L.

20:36 *Theme in Greek hortatory discourse: Van Dijk and Beekman–Callow approaches, applied to 1 John*

29:60–63 *Smith, Neil and Deidre Wilson. 1979. Modern linguistics: The results of Chomsky's revolution. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.*

Migliazza, Brian L.

45:30–45 *A brief sketch of Fleming's stratificational model*

Milch, Aleksander B.

35:40–46 *The Bulgarian participle*

42:17–22 *On the renarrative mood in Bulgarian*

Miles, Christine

48:63–64 *Bearth, Thomas. 1986. L'articulation du temps et de l'aspect dans le discours Toura. (Sciences pour la Communication, 14.) Berne: Lang.*

Miller, Jeanne and Helen Miller

06:37 *Mamanwa grammar*

Miller, Vera Grace

02:39 *An overview of Stiêng grammar*

Moe, Ron

29:56–57 *Woolford, Ellen and William Washabaugh, eds. 1983. The social context of creolization. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.*

Morgan, Mary

16:47–48 *Language change in progress in Totontepec, Oaxaca, Mexico*

Mugele, Bob

23:41 *Tone and ballistic syllable in Lalana Chinatec*

Munnings, Peter

08:37 *Loving, Richard, ed. 1975. Technical studies handbook (Papua New Guinea). Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.*

08:37–38 *Loving, Richard, ed. 1977. Proceedings of SIL consultants' seminar, Ukarumpa 1976. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages, Vol. 20. Ukarumpa, PNG: Summer Institute of Linguistics.*

Murray, Thomas E.

36:42–49 *On the use of nontraditional variables in sociolinguistic studies of contextual speech*

Myers, Beatrice

13:42 *The XLIII International Congress of Americanists*

Naden, Tony

17:32–35 *Language systems ride again*

18:12–13 *Keep it snappy*

38:36–38 *Looking up terms for concepts*

48:25–26 *Stop me and buy one (for $5...)*

Olson, Michael L.

09:36 *Barai syntax: A comparative study of tagmemic and transformational analyses*

22:39–41 *Barai clause juncture: Toward a functional theory of interclausal relations*

Oltrogge, David F.

03:38 *Proto Jicaque–Subtiaba–Tequistlateco: A comparative reconstruction*

04:40 *Yumanist–Hokanist meetings in Salt Lake City*

27:34–35 *Bailey, Charles–James N. 1982. On the yin and yang nature of language. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

Omaggio, Alice C.

09:24–28 *Successful language learners: What do we know about them?*

Orwig, Carol J.

15:24–28 *What's what in language learning*

51:42–50 *The 1990 Georgetown University Roundtable On Language And Linguistics*

Oxford–Carpenter, Rebecca

37:52–60 *Second language learning strategies: What the research has to say*

Pace, Wanda

01:26 *LSA Summer Institute 1976*

03:38–39 *Comaltepec Chinantec verb inflection*

17:51–52 *First Nilo-Saharan Colloquium*

Pallesen, A. Kemp

08:35 *Culture contact and language divergence*

Park, Jim

12:45 *Conference On Theoretical Orientations In Creole Studies*

Payne, David

03:39 *Nasality in Aguaruna*

21:26–34 *Bilingual dictionaries*

25:38–40 *Bickerton, Derek. 1981. Roots of language. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

29:51–56 *Comrie, Bernard. 1981. Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Payne, Doris L.

26:40–42 *Wierzbicka, Anna. 1980. The case for surface case. (Linguistica Extranea, Studia 9.) Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

38:07–25 *A survey of morphological theories*

Payne, Thomas

35:56–61 *24th Conference On American Indian Languages, Washington, DC*

35:47–50 *Fourteenth Annual University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Linguistics Symposium*

37:05–43 *Semantics master bibliography* with Scott DeLancey

42:04–16 *Roots and concerns of typological/functional linguistics*

43:07–09 *Categorized and prioritized bibliography on language typology*

44:10–15 *How to write a grammatical sketch (without putting your readers to sleep)*

46:30–48 *Transitivity and ergativity in Panare*

50:47–62 *Johnson, Mark. 1987. The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.*

52:37–38 *The 29th conference on American Indian languages*

53:35–42 *Handling language data: Excerpts from a field manual*

Payton, George

49:56 *Report on the Cushita conference*

Peck, Charles

07:37 *Workshop report, Central America, 1977*

Sp3:12–15 *Couture, Barbara, ed. 1986. Functional approaches to writing: Research perspectives. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.*

Sp3:16–22 *O'Grady, William. 1987. Principles of grammar and learning. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Sp3:23–37 *Kuno, Susumu. 1987. Functional syntax: Anaphora, discourse and empathy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.*

Sp3:38–45 *Kelber, Werner H. 1983. The oral and written gospel. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.*

46:49–61 *Notes on making bilingual dictionaries*

49:07–30 *Readable technical paragraphs*

50:43–47 *Margolis, Harold. 1987. Pattern, thinking, and cognition: A theory of judgment. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.*

51:04 *A letter to the editor*

53:50–53 *Fries, Peter Howard, ed. 1985. Toward an understanding of language: Charles Carpenter Fries in perspective. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.*

Persson, Andrew

25:03–05 *Language learning sessions at home and abroad*

Peru Branch

08:03–05 *Minimum language proficiency goals*

Philippine Branch

08:43 *Understanding another culture. (Philippine Branch technical memo no. 42)*

Phinnemore, Thomas

06:40 *Ono phonology and morphophonemics*

Pickering, Wilber Norman

08:33 *A framework for discourse analysis*

Pickett, Velma B.

12:45–46 *Conference on syntax*

14:41 *Linguistic Society of America and AAAL*

19:33–39 *How intuitive is the "word"? – a response*

19:48 *Young, David J. 1980. The structure of English clauses. New York: St. Martin's Press.*

38:45 *Clitics – to be or not to be Words*

Pike, Eunice V.

13:49 *Ninth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*

19:39–43 *Criteria and procedures for determining word division*

38:45–46 *Some Environments Which May Condition Vowel Length*

Pike, Evelyn G.

25:06–13 *Instant language learning kit*

Pike, Kenneth L.

06:48 *SIL President's Letter*

12:42 *Pike visit to Kenya*

16:05–06 *Readers' forum: State of the university and its future*

24:03–14 *Some questions for field linguists beginning language analysis*

29:48–50 *Assumptions in Maxwell's article, "Revolution and the Summer Institute of Linguistics"*

Pittman, Dick

18:52 *13th Sino–Tibetan Conference*

19:50 *79th Meeting of the American Anthropological Association*

Poulter, Virgil L.

33:60–61 *Malkiel, Yakov. 1983. From particular to general linguistics: Selected essays 1965–1978. (Studies in Language Companion Series, Volume 3.) Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.*

Quackenbush, Stephen J.

29:69–70 *Delaware Symposium on Language Studies, 5*

51:53–65 *Milroy, Lesley. 1987. Observing and analysing natural language: A critical account of sociolinguistic method. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd.*

Quick, Philip Alan

33:64–65 *Resumptive repetition – a cohesive discourse feature in Biblical Hebrew (Genesis 1–15)*

Radney, J. Randolph

24:46 *Some factors that influence fronting in Koine clauses*

Ray, Michael

21:47 *Gordon, Terrence. 1980. Semantics: A bibliography 1965–1978. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.*

21:50 *Siegel, Bernard J., Alan R. Beals, and Stephen A. Tyler, eds. 1981. Annual review of anthropology, vol. 10. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, Inc.*

Redden, James E.

22:19–23 *On expanding the meaning of applied linguistics: A suggestion for training linguists and language teachers in field linguistics*

Redding, Mary Martin

04:31–32 *The deep and surface structure of the Choctaw clause*

Rensch, Calvin R.

01:07–12 *Training programs for those involved with SIL in language projects*

04:40 *Congress on the Evaluation of Anthropology in Oaxaca*

Rex, Eileen Elizabeth

04:32 *On Catio grammar*

Rhodes, Rich

13:48 *Eastern Canada Workshop* with Lee Ballard

Richards, Joan

10:31–40 *Participant identification in discourse*

Richman, Larry

13:31–36 *The semantic value of the -a' and the -i' noun plurals in Cakchiquel*

Samarin, William J.

18:05–07 *The sociolinguistic reading of biblical language*

Samuelson, Bruce

10:45 *The goals of linguistic theory*

Sayers, Barbara J.

24:46 *From morpheme to discourse: A study of reference in Wik-Munkan*

Schoenhals, Louise

24:15–20 *Towards a valid linguistic check of bilingual dictionaries*

Schooling, Stephen

39:51 *Milroy, Lesley. 1980. Language and social networks. Oxford: Blackwell.*

Schram, Judith L.

23:16–21 *Empathy as a communication skill related to language learning*

26:31–37 *Evaluating language proficiency*

Scorza, David

08:36 *A sketch of Au syntax and morphology*

18:43–45 *Schuchardt, Hugo, ed. 1979. The ethnography of variation: Selected writings on pidgins and Creoles. (Linguistica Extranea Studia 3.) Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc. (Translated by T. L... Harkey.)*

Scott, Graham Kerr

08:34 *The Fore language of Papua New Guinea*

Seki, Luci

33:48–52 *Deletion, Reduplication, and CV Skeleta in Kamaiura* with Daniel Everett

Shaw, R. Daniel

07:34 *Samo social structure: A socio-linguistic approach to understanding interpersonal relationships.*

Shaw, Sanford Whitcomb

04:35 *A contrastive study of some negative morphemes in standard Spanish and several indigenous languages of Peru*

Shelden, Deidre B.

15:42 *Dinnsen, Daniel A., ed. 1979. Current approaches to phonological theory. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.*

Shelden, Howard

21:51 *Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea 15th Annual Congress*

22:17–18 *Comments on a phonetic orthography for computers*

Silzer, Pete

07:44 *S.I.C.A.L. – Austronesian linguistics with wider significance*

Sim, Ronald J.

07:37 *University of Nairobi M.A. program*

Simons, Gary F.

13:47 *Language variation and limits to communication*

16:07–26 *The impact of on-site computing on field linguistics*

17:50–51 *Third New Zealand Linguistics Conference*

19:49 *Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*

22:04–09 *PTP – A text processing language for personal computers* with Ramond Howell and Stephen McConnel

22:37 *Langa, Frederic S., ed. Byte, Vol. 6, No. 9, 1981. Special issue on artificial intelligence. McGraw-Hill Inc.*

34:65–71 *Signing and sorting, part 1*

35:62–68 *Signing and sorting, part 2*

36:53–59 *Building a morphological analyzer, part 1*

37:61–67 *Building a morphological analyzer, part 2*

38:50–57 *Automation in academic publishing*

39:53–60 *Multidimensional text glossing and annotation*

41:41–46 *Studying morphophonemic alternation in annotated text, part one*

42:27–38 *Studying morphophonemic alternation in annotated text, part II*

44:51–59 *A tool for exploring morphology*

53:19–27 *A two-level processor for morphological analysis*

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27:41–42 *XVth Pacific Science Conference*

Simons, Linda

20:05–12 *Non-technical grammars: Audience, purpose, and method*

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09:46–47 *Notes on study programs on the "Field"*

Smith, Kenneth David

01:20–21 *Phonology and syntax of Sedang, a Vietnam Mon-Khmer language.*

Smith, Richard Dean

08:33 *Some contrastive features of Southern Barasano*

Snider, Keith

17:47–48 *Chafe, Wallace L., ed. 1980. The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production. Norwood, NJ.: Ablex Publishing Corporation.*

Sparing, Margarethe Wilma

18:46–47 *The perception of reality in the Volksmarchen of Schleswig-Holstein: A study in interpersonal relationships and world view*

Speece, Richard Fleming

26:56 *Phonological processes affecting segments in Angave*

Sperber, Dan

39:05–24 *An outline of relevance theory* with Deirdre Wilson

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06:40 *Parental kinship terminology in relation to child roles in the nuclear family: A tagmemic approach*

17:07–17 *Conversational analysis and cultural knowledge*

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07:47–48 *Language learning integration at South Pacific SIL*

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01:23–24 *Study programs: Recently completed M.A. programs*

01:30–32 *Report on Dallas Meeting (School Directors, Academic Coordinators, Area Directors)*

02:47 *Recent theses and dissertations by members of the SIL*

03:19 *International Linguistic Advisors*

03:48 *Research by the Healeys in Australia*

04:41 *A program of studies in lexicography at Indiana State University*

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05:28–29 *Training language assistants effectively*

09:44 *Report on Colombia workshop*

10:46–47 *Linguistics-related dissertations in UTA library (a bibliography).*

10:48 *Masters degrees granted, 1977–78*

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16:53 *SIL Africa Area Meetings' Linguistic Soirees*

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17:05–06 *Getting together interests, part III*

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20:13–17 *Discourse questionnaires*

21:03 *Autobiographical sketches, part IV*

23:03 *Autobiographical sketches, part V*

24:33–39 *Building a personal technical library*

25:24–37 *Oral and written language*

26:03 *Autobiographical sketches, part VI*

27:03 *Autobiographical sketches, part VII*

28:03 *Autobiographical sketches, part VIII*

35:53–55 *ELCON, Peru*

40A:03–33 *The SIL second language oral proficiency evaluation*

Standefur, John

05:41 *The search for structure*

Stark, Donald Stewart

05:35 *A comparative verb morphology of four Spanish dialects*

Starr, Robert W.

21:48 *Napoli, Donna J. and Emily N. Rando, eds. 1979. Syntactic argumentation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.*

Stockdale, Sharon

09:36 *Discourse analysis of II Timothy.*

Stuart, John A.

25:50–51 *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etnolingüísticos*

Studerus, Lenard

05:42–43 *Linguistic section: UTA library holdings*

Symons, Bruce

Sp3:07–11 *Schütz, Albert J. 1986. The Fijian language. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.*

Thiessen, Henry A.

16:44 *Phonological reconstruction of Proto-Palawan*

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01:13–17 *A note on hierarchies and levels*

03:13–19 *A note on hierarchies and levels (cont.)*

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13:37–40 *How intuitive is the word?*

13:48–49 *LACUS Forum*

14:34–39 *Clause components*

24:29 *How intuitive is the "word" – a rejoinder*

25:44 *Jenner, Philip N. and Saveros Pou. 1980–81. A lexicon of Khmer morphology. (Mon-Khmer Studies, ix–x.) Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.*

26:28–30 *Discourse components*

38:31–35 *Consultants as encouragers*

Thomas , D. and George Huttar

01:25–26 *Consultants' Seminar in PNG 1976*

Thompson, Greg

15:46 *North America Branch Language Learning Workshop*

21:35–44 *Introduction to "North America Branch language understanding manual" project*

Thompson, Edward T.

18:08–11 *How to write clearly*

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03:27–31 *The microcomputer: A new tool for the field linguist*

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25:41–42 *Patric, James. 1982. The genetic relationship of the Ainu language. (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication, 17.) Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.*

28:42 *A phonological reconstruction of Proto-Northern Rai*

Todd, Terry Lynn

04:32 *Clause versus sentence in Choctaw*

Troike, Rudolph C. and Muriel Saville-Troike

37:44–51 *Video recording for linguistic fieldwork*

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45:62–63 *Report on cognitive linguistics conference*

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38:44 *All Affix and No Stem: Orizaba Nahuatl tlahtla*

38:46 *Why the oddness of Reflexives isn't odd*

Tutton, Dan

49:43–46 *Using FIESTA to find the context for words in a list* with Eugene Loos

Unseth, Pete

25:43–44 *Zhivov, Victor M. 1980. Sketch of syntagmatic phonology. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Moscovskogo Universiteta.*

Sp3:03 *LePage, Robert B. and Andrée Tabouret-Keller. 1985. Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

Sp3:04–06 *Shevoroshkin, Vitalij V. and T. L. Markey, eds. 1986. Typology, relationship and time. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.*

44:04–09 *The production of a linguistic bibliography*

48:07 *The 1989 LSA annual meeting*

52:47–49 *Hamers, Josiane and Michel Blanc. 1989. Bilinguality and bilingualism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Translated from the French in 1983 by the same authors.)*

Vallette, René

45:08–13 *Charting verbs for discourse analysis*

Van Antwerp, Caroline

25:25–34 *Bibliography of spoken and written language* with Jean Leutkemeyer and Gloria Kindell

VanDyken, Julia

36:25–41 *The genetic linguistic postulates – some applications*

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02:31–35 *Porto Velho 1976 Linguistic Workshop*

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52:04–09 *Linguistics without books: A diary entry*

53:29–33 *On ambiguity: A diary entry*

Waller, J. L.

07:38 *Pikes' visit to Suriname Branch*

Wallis, Ethel

19:47–48 *Babby, Leonard H. 1980. Existential sentences and negation in Russian. (Linguistics Extranea Studia 8.) Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

Walrod, Michael

04:32–33 *Discourse grammar in Gia'dang*

26:50–54 *Metzing, Dieter. 1980. Frame conceptions and text understanding. (Research in text theory, 5.) New York/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.*

27:32–34 *Burghardt, Wolfgang and Klaus Holker. 1979. Text processing/Textverarbeitung. (Research in Text Theory, vol. 3.) Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.*

28:36–39 *de Beaugrande, Robert-Alain and Wolfgang Dressler. 1981. Introduction to text linguistics. London/New York: Longman.*

32:34–38 *Schank, Roger C. and Robert P. Abelson. 1977. Scripts, plans, goals and understanding: An inquiry into human knowledge structures. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.*

Walter, Stephen Leslie

04:33–34 *Some psycho-physiological aspects of a theory of semantics*

15:45 *Application of a cognitive model of linguistics structure to the analysis of selected problems in Tzeltal (Mayan) grammar*

Wares, Alan C.

51:17–30 *How to compile and edit a bibliography*

Wartekin, Viola

04:11–16 *Tila Chol "come", and "go", and "arrive"* with Daniel A. Hoopert

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14:39 *Yuman-Hokan Languages Workshop*

38:44–45 *Split Ergativity in Oaxaca Chontal*

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20:35 *A grammar of two Pucoh texts*

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22:47 *A phonology and morphology of Ejagham – with notes on dialect variation*

27:41 *Focus in Aghem: A study of its formal correlates and typology*

33:65 *Colloquium on Functional Grammar, Amsterdam, The Netherlands*

33:68 *Conference on Comparative Bantu Linguistics, Butare, Rwanda*

Weaver, Deborah

25:52 *Obviation in Michif*

25:55–56 *Quatorzième Congrès des Algonquinistes*

Weber, David J.

22:10–16 *Software tools and PTP*

33:28–38 *Reference grammars for the computational age*

47:29–40 *Lex, Yacc, and Quechua numeral phrases*

48:52–57 *An appeal for examples to guide CADA development*

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Sp1:1–29 *A note on valence: Quechua vs Quichean*

15:29–40 *Assessing the prospects for computer-assisted dialect adaptation in a particular language*

20:25–29 *Prospects for computer-assisted dialect adaptation*

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34:05–24 *A partially annotated bibliography of language death*

Wedekind, Klaus

45:56–61 *Third international conference on functional grammar*

Weir, E. M. Helen

04:30 *The Nadeb verb*

Wendell, Margaret M.

10:44–45 *Training authors in a preliterate society*

Wendland, Ernst R.

44:18–33 *A preliminary examination of timing in Nyanja narrative discourse*

Werth, Ronald N.

28:32–35 *Polomé, Edgar C., ed. 1982. The Indo-Europeans in the fourth and third millennia. (Linguistica Extranea, Studia, 14.) Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.*

West, Birdie

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Errata

(Editor's Note: For the convenience of our subscribers, we have made this item an insert. This correction belongs in *Notes on Linguistics* Number 52, page 56.)

Correction to review of Thomas M. Tehan's *Children in the New Testament: A Linguistic and Historical Analysis* by Howard Law in NOL #52.

The first paragraph on page 56 should state that *Children in the New Testament* was written in 1986 (not 1980) to complete Tehan's dissertation for the PhD (not master's thesis) in the History and Philosophy of Education. ■

Coordinator's Corner

For decades linguistics has been preoccupied with linguistic form as the proper material for linguistic analysis. A few attempts have been made to break out of the mold, but only recently has interest in incorporating the analysis of meaning as an essential part of linguistic description taken on vigor. (See Les Bruce's report of the Cognitive Linguistics meeting in Santa Cruz.)

Readers might not agree with the following characterization of where various theories fit when classified according to focus on Form versus Meaning. For example, below I have placed Tagmemics squarely in the middle of the scale because of Pike's long-standing insistence that linguistic units are an indivisible composite of form and meaning. Nevertheless, typical Tagmemic descriptions have overwhelmingly focused on form; only incidentally have they dealt with meaning, apart from the notational requirement of having a slot name for each class. This preoccupation with form could be the basis for classifying Tagmemics as a variant of those theories that cluster at the FORM end of the spectrum. Reasons can be adduced for putting Stratificational Grammar at the FORM end also.

FORM
- Traditional Descriptions
- Generative Grammar
- Government & Binding
- Huis (France CIL)
- Systemics (British SIL)
- Functional Grammar (Givón)
- Tagmemics (Pike)
- Stratificational Grammar
- Geneva Model (Roulet, Egner)
- Lexical Function Grammar
- Word Grammar (Diehl)
- Cognitive Linguistics
- Relevance Theory

MEANING

Some might argue that Relevance Theory isn't really a linguistic theory, but a psychological theory of language processing. Looked at carefully, however, the issues it is concerned with don't differ from the issues that make up pragmatics. Increasingly we see in works on pragmatics citations of Relevance Theory sources acknowledging insights, but there is not yet a body of linguistic descriptions that take Relevance Theory as a framework. The one that does (Regina Blass's *Relevance Relations in Discourse* [CUP 1990]) assumes a full-bodied analysis of form such as a GB description might provide, but the reader who misses that fact might come to the conclusion that details of structure are of no real concern to the RT analyst.

We are glad to be able to offer an insightful treatment of pragmatics by Doug Wingate, an article on writing by Charles Peck, and several book reviews.

How Pragmatic Is Pragmatics?

J. Douglas Wingate

What Is Pragmatics?

A linguist whose largest concern is application of his analytical abilities to problems in language-learning and translation may sometimes hope that he now knows enough theory, or wish that some day he might know enough. The feeling is like that of walking up the "down" escalator: You never reach the top, because someone is adding steps. Leech (1983:1–2) says, "To the generation which followed Bloomfield, linguistics meant phonetics, phonemics, and if one was daring – morphophonemics...." He characterizes linguists as having colonized the rest of the field of linguistics like the American West, territory by territory; first came syntax, then semantics, and finally ("California or bust") pragmatics. But, to paraphrase Leech, on the coast, in the land of pragmatics, linguists found the "Indians" – linguistic philosophers – already thriving, and their names were J. L. Austin, John Searle, and H. Paul Grice. The concern of these and other philosophers, and of the many linguists who now share their territory, is the study of "how language is used in context" (Leech, 1983:1).

Leech's definition of pragmatics is general enough to take in the whole topic, and highlights its overlap with sociolinguistics. Authors of books on pragmatics seem able to add "precision" to the definition of pragmatics only by discussing it at length. Levinson (1983:1–32), in writing the pragmatics textbook for the Cambridge series, takes thirty-two pages to approach pragmatics from all angles, trying to come up with a succinct definition which takes in precisely the whole field and nothing else. Ultimately, he does not succeed, but he concludes, "The most promising [definitions] are the definitions that equate pragmatics with 'meaning minus semantics,' or with a theory of language understanding that takes context into account, in order to complement the contribution that semantics makes to meaning" (1983:32). But, he adds, "if one really wants to know what a particular field is concerned with at any particular time, one must simply observe what practitioners do" (1983:32). Providing an

overview of "what practitioners do" in pragmatics is one of my purposes in this article. The other is to direct readers to the fascinating literature in this field, out of practical consideration for the improvement of their own language learning and translation.

How Pragmatic Is Pragmatics?

Perhaps one of the common identifying characteristics of linguists is that they like to play with words, and in that spirit I will introduce the alternate (and primary) sense of "pragmatic": SIL field linguists are, if anything, pragmatic. The end point of our linguistic education and analysis is translation of "books of high moral value" into hundreds of minority languages. So while everyone would like to linger over the musings of philosophers and theoretical linguists for pure enjoyment, we will feel better if we know that the lingering is ultimately productive. Intuitively (and some linguists admit intuitions as data), I believe that pragmatic theories that attempt to explain how contexts interact with sentences to change or augment meaning must be useful to linguists whose purpose in analysis is to speak and write a second language as much like a mother-tongue speaker as possible. But field methods for pragmatic research in a second language are hard to come by, because in maddening similarity to the early work of generative grammarians, most of the work in pragmatics so far has been in researchers' own first languages. Not having field experience, I do not have great insight into just what sort of field methods will be required for research in pragmatics. Clearly, though, an acquaintance with the remarkable issues and ideas presented in the literature on pragmatics is a necessary beginning, and methods and applications can come later. The following delineation of the broad topics commonly associated with pragmatics mirrors that in Stephen Levinson's book *Pragmatics* (1983).

Deixis

Sperber and Wilson (1986:3–15) note, and even belabor, the limitations of the "code" metaphor of language, whereby language is thought of as a means for the encoding of thoughts. Moderately close examination reveals the degree to which sentences are underspecified for their meaning; and deixis most readily illustrates the way context

augments interpretation. The following sentence, an extreme case, illustrates six instances of four types of deixis:

(1) Here I am now, writing this sentence.

Here is deictic of location, *I* and the first-person inflection of *am* are deictic of participant role, *now* and the tense of *am* are deictic of time, and *this*, in this usage (and this usage, etc.) is deictic of discourse location. Shorn of its complexity, deixis can be succinctly defined as reference relative to a particular context of utterance (Levinson, 1983:54; Fillmore, 1975:38). The relativity of deictic reference is shown when we replace the deictics with absolute references. (Note that tense- and person-marking are obligatory, and so cannot be removed.)

(2) At the International Linguistics Center, at 1:15 p.m. on Feb. 8, 1991, Doug Wingate is writing sentence (2).

The context-sensitivity of our use and interpretation of deictic expressions is shown if we retain the deictic terms, but shift the context of utterance or "deictic center" (Levinson, 1983:64) to another point in time, space, and the discourse, and to another (imaginary) writer:

(3) There he was then, writing that sentence.

And the underspecification of the meaning of sentences containing deictics is highlighted by the following example, cited by Fillmore (1975:39) and Levinson (1983:55). Imagine finding this note in a bottle washed up on the shore, and trying to figure out what it means:

(4) Meet me here a week from now with a stick this big.

Though SIL field linguists who have been analyzing and learning a language for any length of time have probably already uncovered most of the instances of lexicalized and grammaticalized deixis in their language of study, they may agree that early acquaintance with the universals and cross-linguistic variability in systems of deictic locatives, demonstratives, tenses, honorifics, etc. would have sped their research along. Good sources for interested persons are Fillmore (1975), Levinson (1979, 1983), Anderson and Keenan (1985), Rauh (1983), Denny (1978), Heath (1980), Brown and Gilman (1960), and Geertz (1960).

Conversational Implicature

The notion of "conversational implicature" was first introduced by H. Paul Grice, a linguistic philosopher at the University of California, Berkeley, lecturing at Harvard University in 1967 (Grice, 1975:41). Excerpts of Grice's lectures were first published as Grice (1975). Grice's idea of conversational implicature is built on a set of conversational principles known as the Cooperative Principle (CP) and the Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation, and Manner.

(5) **Cooperative Principle:**

Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

Maxim of Quantity:
1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Maxim of Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true.
1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Maxim of Relation: Be relevant.

Maxim of Manner: Be perspicuous.
1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly. (Grice, 1975:45–6)

The work of Grice (1975), and of subsequent authors, notably Gazdar (1979), Leech (1983), and Levinson (1983), focuses particularly on what happens in interpretation – what implicatures are derived – when hearers believe (1) that the speaker is observing both the CP and the Maxims, or (2) that the speaker is deliberately "flouting" a Maxim while still observing the CP. The issues surrounding conversational implicature are complex, and a real discussion of them (like those in the above-named sources) would necessarily be quite lengthy; but by way of illustration, I will show how the Maxim of Quantity has been used by Horn (1972, cited by Gazdar (1979)), Gazdar (1979: 49–62), and Levinson (1983: 132–6) to explain our common interpretation of "quantitative scales", such as these listed by Gazdar (1979:56):

(6) <all, most, many, some, [a] few,...>
<necessarily, probably, possibly,...>
<...ten, nine, eight,...>
<must, should, may,...>

Take as our example:

(7) Some of the boys went to the party.

If someone says (7), it is generally taken by the hearer to implicate "Not all of the boys went to the party." This, according to Gricean reasoning, is because (in English at least, as we shall see) the hearer expects the speaker to follow the first part of the Quantity Maxim: "Make your contribution as informative as is required." Crucially, "some" does not actually have "not all" as part of its meaning. Note that the implicature "Not all..." can be cancelled, or disallowed, as in (8).

(8) Some, in fact all, of the boys went to the party.

Clearly "some", strictly speaking, is consistent with "all." The added interpretation "not all" in (7) is, according to Gricean reasoning, a result of our expectation that speakers commonly adhere to the Quantity Maxim. In (7), if the speaker knew that all the boys went to the party, he could reasonably be expected to say so.

Inevitably, a single example of application of Grice's theory of conversational implicature is inadequate to show its broad explanatory power. In addition to refining our understanding of a lengthy list of quantitative scales (Gazdar, 1979:49–50; Levinson, 1983:134), Gricean reasoning brings us part way to an understanding of the process of interpretation of irony, metaphor, and other forms of indirectness (Grice, 1975:50–6). The related domain of "conventional implicature" provides approaches to the analysis of such things as logical connectors, as well (see Levinson, 1983:127–131, and the sources he names).

Of presumable interest to both linguists and anthropologists in SIL is the possibility of social and cultural variation in the application of Grice's Maxims, and the effect this variation has on the conversational implicatures derived from utterances. For instance, Levinson (1983:121) notes the commonness of exchanges such as (9) in adversarial courts like those in the U.S.A.:

(9) Counsel: On many occasions?
Witness: Not many
Counsel: Some?
Witness: Yes, a few

In ordinary conversation (and the reader can check his own intuitions), the answer "not many" is, strictly speaking, consistent with "none," but will conversationally implicate "not none – some or a few." In the context of a court, though, Counsel has less expectation that Witness will obey the Quantity Maxim. The usual implicature is not derived by Counsel, and unlike an ordinary conversationalist, he makes sure that the whole truth is "not many and not none." This is an example of a social context in which an otherwise valid Maxim does not hold and in which its associated implicatures are not derived.

It gets stranger, as when Keenan (1976) describes the limited application of the Quantity Maxim among the Malagasy speakers of Madagascar. In their community, genuinely new information is a rare commodity, and possessors of it are loath to give it up to others; speakers are chary of divulging information that will set blame on another, and are very averse to making mistakes about even relatively inconsequential matters of fact; and straight-forward reference to a person by name is thought to invite unfavorable attention from the spirit world. As a result, Keenan notes, Malagasy speakers do not draw the same implicatures that English speakers regularly do, such as that an indefinite expression like "a person" implicates that the speaker does not know the identity of the person (1976:72–3), or that a statement like "She is either in the house or at the market" implicates that the speaker does not know which is the case (1976:70).

The possibility of such situational and cultural variation in the application of Maxims and the implicatures that can be drawn must be of great importance for a field linguist as to both matters of translation and day-to-day interaction.

Presupposition

Very recently I had a conversation (of sorts) that began something like this:

(10) J: Is there much in the snack machine over there?
D: (pause) Well, there isn't one over there. (pause) So I guess the answer is "no". (laughs)

My entire answer (D) is devoted to a problem centering around a proposition that is never asserted in the text, but rather is presupposed by the speaker J, namely that "there is a snack machine over there." This presupposition affects the form of J's question, first, in as much as she never asks a question as to whether there is in fact a snack machine, and second, in that she uses a definite noun phrase to refer to the machine. As various conversation analysts (such as Moerman (1988), McLaughlin (1984), and Levinson (1983)) point out, the pauses, "well," negation, and the laughter of D are all occasioned by a belief that is never asserted by J, but that is clearly attributable to her. And the need to deal with this presupposition that, in this case, is mistaken precludes the possibility of a simple "no" answer.

Horn (1986), Prince (1986), and Sperber and Wilson (1986:202–17), among others, note the effect that presuppositions, and the need to augment or refute them, have on choices made regarding syntactic form and sentence stress. Sentences (11–14) specifically reflect the presupposition "Someone helped Karen."

(11) It was BILL who helped Karen.
(12) Karen was helped by BILL.
(13) NO ONE helped Karen.
(14) It wasn't BILL who helped Karen.

Sentences (11) and (12) instantiate the presupposition by identifying the one who "presupposedly" helped Karen; (13) denies the presupposition; and (14) cancels a presupposition that Bill helped Karen, while retaining the presupposition "Someone helped Karen." The reader can check these statements against his own intuitions.

Levinson (1983:181–4), borrowing from numerous sources, provides a partial list of "triggers" in English such as stress, syntactic forms, and lexical items, that reflect speaker presuppositions. Accumulation of a similar list in a field linguist's language of study will almost certainly improve his understanding of text– and conversation–structure in the language. Prince (1986) and Horn (1986) show that presupposition can provide functional motivation for many of the various movement transformations proposed in transformational grammar. Alternatively, it can likely provide functional motivation for ascensions,

advancements, etc. in relational grammar; alternate realizations in stratificational grammar; and choice of sentence type in tagmemic models. As Fleming (1988:1) and others note, we are concerned not only with the choices available in a language, but the reasons for making them; presupposition triggers provide a partial list of those reasons.

An approach to further investigation of presupposition is to read Levinson (1983:Chapter 4), and then progress to the numerous authors he cites.

Speech Act Theory

The theory of speech acts was first proposed by J. L. Austin of Oxford University, at Harvard in the William James lectures of 1955 (published as Austin (1962)). Austin's work has been carried on most notably by John Searle of the University of California at Berkeley (see Searle (1969, 1979) and Searle and Vanderveken (1985)). Speech act theory distinguishes three different types of action that we perform when we speak: utterance acts, "uttering words (morphemes, sentences)"; propositional acts, "referring and predicating"; and illocutionary acts, "stating, questioning, commanding, promising, etc." (Searle, 1969:23–4). The focus of the theory is on the "force" of illocutionary acts – what the speaker is doing with the proposition that he puts into words. Practitioners want to determine the types of illocutionary force, that is, the different actions speakers perform with words; the various ways illocutionary force can be indicated in sentences, such as verbs of promising, commanding, asserting, etc., and morphosyntactic devices such as verb inflection and word order; and finally, how hearers determine the illocutionary force of the speaker's utterance (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985:7), particularly when illocutionary force is expressed indirectly (see Searle (1979:30–57) and Levinson (1983:226–283)).

Searle and Vanderveken (1985:12–20) analyze illocutionary force into seven components:

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(15) (i) illocutionary point: assertive, commissive, directive, declarative, expressive
(ii) degree of strength of the illocutionary point
(iii) mode of achievement
(iv) propositional content conditions
(v) preparatory conditions
(vi) sincerity conditions
(vii) degree of strength of the sincerity conditions

An explication of the seven components would be too lengthy for our purposes here, and I refer the reader to Searle's writings. The theory of speech acts, particularly as presented in Searle and Vanderveken (1985), is of great use in the analysis of the sorts of verbs used in reporting speech (assert, claim, suggest, demand, command, etc.; see especially pages 179–220). Also, one can make of it a much more systematic analysis of mood than I have seen elsewhere in the literature. Interested readers are encouraged to read a selection of the other sources mentioned above before approaching Searle and Vanderveken's (1985) very formal treatment.

Methods in Pragmatics

Someone has said, critically, that linguistics is the only science in which we get to make up both the theory and the data. That observation is particularly relevant to the literature on pragmatics, in which writers rely heavily on their own judgments concerning constructed data ("The king of France is bald": We know it is not true, but is it false, or none-of-the-above?). Reliance on constructed data, or even single-sentence data elicited in an interview setting, is problematic for any linguist, but especially for linguists working in languages besides their own, in which they cannot bring their own intuitions to bear.

Text analysts elicit and analyze whole texts partly to avoid the problems inherent in constructed examples and tortuous data from interviews. It is probably correct to say that there is a general similarity in the ultimate goals of text analysts and the "pragmaticists" proper (those who are influenced by the traditions of linguistic philosophy). Linguists working in the programs of, for instance, Longacre (1983) and Fleming (1988) will probably find that the issues and thinking presented in the literature of pragmatics will augment the approach to communication analysis with which they are already

familiar; and their own emphasis on natural data will provide better empirical support than pragmaticists with their constructed data can often provide.

But Levinson (1983: Chapter 6) and Moerman (1988), among others, suggest a third source of data besides interview data and texts, namely conversation between mother–tongue speakers, and this data–source seems particularly well suited to investigations in pragmatics. Levinson (1983:63) notes the observation of John Lyons (1977:637–8) that "[t]here is much in the structure of languages that can only be explained on the assumption that they have developed for communication in face–to–face interaction." Moerman (1988:x), writing to ethnographers, but surely by extension to linguists, adds,

> Anything ever said is said by someone, to someone, at a particular moment of some specific socially organized and culturally informed occasion. Casual everyday conversation is the most common, frequent, and pervasive way in which speech is socially organized.

Children learn to refer deictically, implicate, presuppose, and perform speech acts in conversation, and that is where adults hone their skill as well. Conversation provides a "target–rich environment" for research in pragmatics; Levinson (1983:Chapter 6), Moerman (1988), and Hopper, Koch, and Mandelbaum (1986) will introduce the reader to well–established techniques of conversation analysis that enterprising field linguists can perhaps adapt to broader research in pragmatics.

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REANALYTICS: A Diary Entry

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Here's a story to begin explanation of what "reanalysis" is, in Linguistics 101. A London haberdasher who, fortified by a nodding acquaintance with Latin and smitten with the desire to impress patrons, affixed to his shop a sign reading *Mens sana in corpore sano*, to express the "sound-mind-in-a-healthy-body" principle in his new logo. The sign caused a keen competitor across the road to respond with one of his own – *Mens **and womens** sana in corpore sano*, the emphasis original, in huge capitals proclaiming superiority over his shop window. Of course, this one never became currency in the speech community. But some such apparent identities of form do. Today I muse about some ways language changes, and about some ways language can't change, because of political resistance to reanalysis.

"Reanalysis" as an item of interest is fairly new – none of the thirteen books on linguistic terminology on my shelf mentions it. It is usually about grammar. Thus some Bantu language (and, probably Classical Malay) may, it seems, have reanalyzed a third person agentive verbal preclitic as a passive marker. An accusative language may foreground passives, make the agent obligatory, and the language becomes ergative. Full lexemes may suffer attrition, resign from the vocabulary, and start working for the grammar; turncoat past tense becomes aspect – irrealis; much of this stuff happens without anyone "doing" it.

Sometimes reanalysis takes the form of bad linguistics out of the classroom, as when, not so long ago, pundits demanded to know why fuel trucks had *inflammable* painted on them whereas obviously the stuff is highly flammable, and so *flammable* was the new warning painted on the vehicles; the pundits still suffer from a thing called *inflammation* sometimes and call it that – they don't know (consciously) about "inchoative" *in-*, and no wonder, for they have no need for either *inchoative* or for the inchoativity of *in-* in that useless

word. The person who, some time ago in the Low Countries, reanalyzed *wolken* ("cloud"; plural *wolken–en*) as (plural) *wolk–en*, referring to each single cloud as *wolk*, was influential enough to make it stick – no Minister of Education or National Academy was in on the change, and no one resented the stupidity of their version of fuel truck owners or of anything else – at least on linguistic grounds. Then, as now, people didn't look for regulatory Platonic ideas behind words like (in)flammable, any more than people would ask how rivers managed to plot their course through towns and cities. Most of such language change just happens.

Or does it? Sociolinguists like to insist that most language change happens through children. A celebrated case of this is, of course, creolization, whether or not the kids need or don't need an LAD (Language Acquisition Device) or bioprogram for this. But creole children do not (yet) normally suffer under an "educational system" in which armies of bureaucrats labor under the apparent need for a "national curriculum", in which schoolteachers (watched by school principals who are watched by inspectors) make children feel inadequate, stupid, illiterate, and on their way to flunking it all. Or perhaps creole children already do, under governments enforcing English (or French, etc.) as either the "national" language or at least the "official" language; thus they suffer under their lack of command of a foreign language even their teachers don't use effortlessly.

The origin of this is something called "education", as understood in reputedly fully developed nations. There, too, we find a "national language", which is the social dialect of those in power and of the affluent. Children fluent in other dialects find they may make "mistakes" and find their incipient literature defaced by red pencils and evaluated with low grades. And so, national languages can't change the way they would normally: German still has all those cases long dropped outside school buildings and well-appointed offices, and English labors under a spelling which still hasn't dealt, and now can't deal any more, with the Great Vowel Shift. Of course, some authorities try hard. Thus, a gaggle of philologists in France has now determined that the circumflex reflexing a postvocalic *–s* reanalyzed by speakers as useless centuries ago may be dropped, except of course in pairs like *mur – mûr*, as if homography were any problem in context, for children or anyone else. Reportedly, the Académie Française has graciously imparted their blessing to the new efforts.

What, I wonder, is the background of the stultification of what people do so well reanalayzing their languages? As long recognized by linguists with a felt need for social analysis in doing their linguistic job, language is interesting precisely because it may appear somewhat messy in ways displeasing to the powers that be. When upbringing becomes "education", and education is forced into things called "schools", managed by licensed teachers immune to what the local communities want and controlled by remote bureaucrats, then even those local communities internalize the apparent omniscience of meddlesome minders living somewhere else, and accept the system. Language change becomes "wrong".

I once read a report by a committee of foreign experts advising the educational authorities of a developing nation on how to organize the school system. It was a complicated piece of work, with some good and rather old points in one or two sections. I was tempted to write to the committee quoting the redoubtable Dr. Samuel Johnson, who once had a student's paper sent to him with the author's request for critique. The reply was brief: "Sir. I find your paper both good and original. Unfortunately, the part that is good is not original, and the part that is original is not good." ■

Readability Revisited

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To be easily readable, paragraphs need cohesion and integrity (keeping promises made, answering questions raised). If an author fails to structure paragraphs according to these basic principles, readers will have difficulty maintaining interest in the author's line of thought.

Recently an example of such writing appeared in *Notes on Linguistics* (53:35–42): "Handling Language Data: Excerpts from a Field Manual" by Thomas Payne. I will use paragraphs from that article here to illustrate the importance of revision that focuses on a good topic sentence and subsequent supporting sentences as well as the need to "keep promises" and "answer questions."

Before we look at Payne's paper, however, it will be useful to review the principles of revision. They are summarized in section 1, which is from the forthcoming third edition of my book *A Survey of Grammatical Structures*.

1. Writing effective paragraphs

There are three important components in making readable technical paragraphs. They are: (1) making each sentence develop the topic of the paragraph, (2) fulfilling all the promises you make in the first and/or second sentence of a paragraph, and (3) answering any questions raised in the early sentences of a paragraph.

1.1 Keeping the paragraph topic in view

Each paragraph should have a definite topic. It should address some one thing or some one idea. Separate paragraphs should be used if more than one topic is involved.

The topic of an English sentence is usually expressed in the first few words. The rule is that, for coherence, the sentences of a paragraph

should all mention the topic of the paragraph, or some part of the topic, in their first few words.

Here is a paragraph in which each sentence seems to be about something different:

> The transitive verb is usually an active verb. The first prefix is an aspect prefix meaning completed or non-completed. The object in the clause is cross-referenced to the second prefix. The subject of the clause is cross-referenced to the third prefix.

Now here is the same paragraph rewritten to make its sentences all talk about the paragraph topic:

> The transitive verb has three prefix slots. The first slot is an aspect slot which is expounded by "completed" and "non-completed" prefixes. The second slot is expounded by pronominal prefixes that agree with the person of the (sometimes implicit) object of the verb. And the third slot is expounded by pronominal prefixes that agree with the (sometimes implicit) subject of the verb.
>
> The transitive verb is an active verb, usually encoding some definite action. ...

The coherence rule is almost a mechanical rule, but for us ordinary people, keeping the paragraph topic overtly in view is the best thing we can do to make our paragraphs more readable.

1.2 Fulfilling your promises

Sometimes, an author unwittingly makes some "promise" in the first one or two sentences of a paragraph but fails to fulfill it later on. Readers will often notice these unfulfilled promises before the author does.

Here is a paragraph with an unfulfilled promise:

> The possessed noun phrase has the usual meaning of an item possessed by someone and it may be used with a figurative meaning. The head of the phrase may be expounded by any noun and the possessor may be expounded by a personal noun or by an abstract noun. In general the possessor describes some attribute of the exponent of the noun head.

A figurative usage of the possessed noun phrase is mentioned in the first sentence of the preceding paragraph. This constitutes a promise

that there will be some discussion of that figurative usage. There was, but it was not clear that the promise was being fulfilled. We can recast the paragraph to bring out the fulfillment.

> The possessed noun phrase may have the usual meaning of an item with its possessor or it may have a figurative meaning. The noun head of the phrase may be expounded by almost any noun. The possessor may be expounded by a personal noun to give the usual meaning of possession or by an abstract noun, often a noun derived from an adjective, to give the figurative meaning of some outstanding attribute of the noun head exponent.

As rewritten, the promise of a figurative usage is fulfilled in the latter part of the paragraph, giving a better sense of fulfillment. (Of course, the discussion is incomplete without examples.)

1.3 Answering any questions raised

Sometimes an author may raise some questions in the reader's mind that he or she fails to answer. Again, usually some reader other than the author will be sensitive to such unanswered questions.

The following paragraph contains an unanswered question:

> The verb–phrase particle *tepi*, which is related to a similar particle in the neighboring Na'alan language, is used to give the meaning of wonderment to the verb phrase. It is used when a speaker wants to convey his or her sense of wonder at what has happened. It occurs often in ordinary conversation, but writers of the language prefer not to use it in their writing.

Here the mention of a similar particle in a neighboring dialect raised an unanswered question for any reader who might want to know what the particle is in the other dialect. Unless the author intended to discuss the particle in the neighboring dialect, or at least tell what its form is, it would have been better not to mention it.

There may be little difference between promises unfulfilled and questions unanswered, in some instances. But both concepts are useful.

1.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, an author, as he writes, should check on how well the paragraph topic is set up and maintained. Seeing the unfulfilled promises and unanswered questions may be more difficult. It helps to set the paper away for a few weeks and then come back to it. A colleague's reaction can be invaluable, and as we edit one another's work, we need to be sensitive to all three of these considerations.

2. An example of paragraph revision

As I was reading through the May, 1991 *Notes on Linguistics*, I lit on Tom Payne's article "Handling Language Data: Excerpts from a Field Manual" as an example of paragraphs that need revision. (I hesitate to pick on Tom Payne or his editor, but do so because what Tom is writing is important material that will be used over and over.) So I copied out the first five paragraphs of the article with a view to rewriting them using the ideas in section 1 (See also Peck 1990).

First I tried to determine the topic of each paragraph but found that I could not determine a topic for any of the paragraphs (except the third and fifth). Then I looked at the sentences with a view to rewriting them but found that I could not improve them much. So then I resorted to cutting and pasting to make some coherent paragraphs. Once I had the sentences sorted and in order, I revised several of them (some extensively) to fit their new contexts better.

2.1 The original paragraphs

The original first five paragraphs are as follows (following the editor's introduction):

> (Editor's Note: As part of Project 95, SIL is producing a Field Manual to assist linguists and technicians in compiling language data.)
>
> The Syntax Section of this manual represents one possible system of categorization for linguistic structures. The particular system presented is one which it is hoped is consistent with general principles of late 20th century linguistic science. That is, the terms and concepts as they are defined here should be understandable to linguists from all theoretical orientations. As the field linguist works through the grammar of a language using the outline of this manual as a guide, questions will undoubtedly arise as to the appropriateness of particular definitions and interpretations to the language being

described. This is good. It is only through honest interaction with data that we learn where our conceptions concerning universal principles of linguistic structure need to be revised.

It might be said that the whole purpose of this manual is to lead researchers to gather the necessary information about a language without excluding the language-specific features, so as to have the data they need to demonstrate mastery of the language. This will enable them to make a contribution to the scholarly world by producing reference grammars or grammatical sketches such as linguists of the world are calling for. A background purpose of the manual is to encourage field linguists to find holes in current theoretical understandings of universal linguistic structures. To the extent that it makes such understanding accessible to the linguistic technician, then it has accomplished its task.

A basic assumption of the manual is that the best way to understand Language, as well as any particular language, is intense interaction with data. Hence, extensive examples are provided from various languages for illustration and the reader is encouraged to compare the illustrations (and the principles they are supposed to illustrate) with linguistic data from a language he or she is attempting to describe. It is through such comparison and interaction that an understanding of the language develops, and, almost as a by-product, theoretical principles of linguistic structure and categorization emerge.

The structure of the manual is roughly that of a fairly complete grammar sketch of a typical language. The headings and subheadings represent systems and subsystems likely to be encountered in any language. Under many of the headings and subheadings there appear questions of the form, "How are relative clauses formed?" Answers to these questions could constitute substantive portions of a grammar sketch or full reference grammar. If the field worker understands a question and can relate it immediately to some specific data in the language being described, he or she can simply answer the question and provide examples. In many cases, however, the field worker will not necessarily be able to answer the questions completely without consulting some additional reference material. Paragraphs labeled "help" are designed to provide a more detailed description of the particular linguistic system treated in each subsection of the manual. These help paragraphs normally provide illustrations of various ways in which languages are known to accomplish the particular function in question. For example, there are three broad ways in which languages are known to form predicate nominal clauses. Under "help" in the section on predicate nominals, each of these three strategies and their subtypes are briefly explained and exemplified. Then the reader is referred to relevant resources for additional information.

An on-screen version of the manual is being prepared for making the outline and helps readily accessible to computer users. Of necessity, the screen version of the helps will be more succinct than the hard copy version.

2.2 The revised paragraphs

My rewriting of Payne's paragraphs is as follows:

> The Syntax Section of this manual is designed to enable field linguists to make their contributions to the scholarly world by producing reference grammars or grammatical sketches such as linguists of the world are calling for. It is based on one possible system of categorization for linguistic structures. The particular syntax presented is one which it is hoped is consistent with general principles of late 20th-century linguistic science. That is, the syntactic terms and concepts as they are defined here, should be understandable to linguists from all theoretical orientations.
>
> The syntactic terms and concepts should help field researchers gather and classify the necessary information about a language including all the language-specific features. Such syntactic information will enable the field linguist to write a good description of the language and also use the data to demonstrate mastery of the language. To the extent that the syntactic terms and concepts make such understanding accessible to the linguistic technician, then this manual has accomplished its task.
>
> Another purpose of the manual is to encourage field linguists to find holes in current theoretical understandings of universal linguistic structures. As the field linguist works through the grammar of a language using the outline of this manual as a guide, questions will undoubtedly arise as to the appropriateness of particular definitions and interpretations to the language being described. This is good; it is only through honest interaction with data that we learn where our conceptions concerning universal principles of linguistic structure need to be revised.
>
> To make this syntactic section of the manual more helpful, many well-chosen examples from various languages have been incorporated to illustrate each and every construction or principle. The user of the manual should read the prose description of the construction or principle and then study the examples carefully. The user can then compare examples from the language he or she is describing with the examples in the manual and come to a better understanding of Language and of the language being described.

The structure of the manual is roughly that of a fairly complete grammar sketch of a typical language, with sections, subsections, headings, and subheadings. The headings and subheadings represent systems and subsystems likely to be encountered in any language. Under many of the headings and subheadings there appear questions of the form, for example, "How are relative clauses formed?" At each heading and subheading, the answers to these questions could constitute a substantive portion of the grammar sketch or full reference grammar.

If the field worker understands the question and can relate it immediately to some specific data in the language being described, he or she can simply answer the question and provide examples. But in many cases the field worker will not necessarily be able to answer the questions completely without consulting some additional reference material. For these cases, paragraphs labeled "help" are supplied to provide a more detailed description of the particular linguistic system treated in each subsection of the manual. These "help" paragraphs normally provide illustrations of various ways in which languages are known to accomplish the particular function in question. For example, there are three broad ways in which languages are known to form predicate nominal clauses. Under "help" in the section on predicate nominals, each of these three strategies and their subtypes are briefly explained and exemplified. Then, for additional help, the reader is referred to other relevant resources for additional information.

An on-screen version of the manual is being prepared for making the outline and helps readily accessible to computer users. The computer-screen version will necessarily be more brief and succinct than the hard-copy version.

2.3 The results of the revision

The first three rewritten paragraphs come from the first two original paragraphs. The fourth is derived from the original third paragraph, and the fifth and sixth are from the fourth paragraph in the original. Note that the sixth paragraph has two adversative sentences in its introduction. The seventh paragraph is a reworking of the original fifth paragraph.

As we compare the rewritten paragraphs with the original ones, we see that each of the new paragraphs has better cohesion: each has a topic that is carried through the sentences of the paragraph. In addition, promises are kept and questions are answered.

In the rewritten paragraphs there is a succession of paragraph topics. The first paragraph tells about the syntax section of the manual and its theoretical stance. The second tells what the section is expected to accomplish. It is good to give some preview of the conclusion of the syntax section of the manual near the beginning of the section. The third tells about finding holes and inadequacies in the theory. The fourth describes the section as having lots of examples, the fifth describes it as having lots of questions, and the sixth describes it as having lots of "helps" paragraphs. The seventh paragraph describes the computer-screen version of the manual. This sequence of paragraphs feels comfortable to me, but the original author may prefer some different sequence. The sequence chosen depends on the author's estimate of the audience and their backgrounds and interests.

3. Conclusion

I have to revise my own writing with these principles in mind, and it is not always easy to do. (It was easier to revise Tom's stuff than it is to do some of my own.)

What I am pleading for is that we linguists and editors become more sensitive to readability.

My rewriting of Payne's paragraphs is probably not the best. Someone else could probably improve on it. But I think it is better than the original.

I would advise linguists to work through Joseph Williams's (1990) book (especially chapters four to six). Prof. Williams writes with the clarity and grace that he advocates. I would also recommend my article (Peck, 1990) on making paragraphs with coherence and integrity. By following these suggestions, authors can improve on their writing.

References

Payne, Thomas. 1991. Handling language data: Excerpts from a field manual. Notes on Linguistics 53:35–42.

Peck, Charles. 1990. Readable technical paragraphs. Notes on Linguistics 49:7–30.

Williams, Joseph M. 1990. Style: Toward clarity and grace. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ■

Report of the 1991 Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics

by Carol Orwig

This year's theme was Linguistics and Language Pedagogy: The State of the Art. I believe there is valuable information to be gleaned from some of the papers in relation to our own SIL pedagogy (teaching people how to learn languages) and teacher training, as well as in language acquisition theory and methodology.

Many of the papers presented addressed one of three main questions:

I. What disciplines should determine what our overall approach to language teaching will be?
II. What approaches and methods are we currently using to teach various aspects of language?
III. How can we train/educate language teachers most effectively?

These questions form the basis for the organization of my report. Each of the three questions is the focus of a section; I have categorized each paper by section according to which question it answers. The first part of each section contains a detailed summary of the papers. In the second part I comment briefly on ideas I gleaned or questions which were raised that I think might be relevant to our SIL training and language-learning practices.

I. What disciplines should determine our overall approach to language teaching?

A. Paper Summaries

1. Opening address by H. G. Widdowson: The description and prescription of language

Should descriptive linguistics (specifically computer analysis of large amounts of natural texts) serve as a basis for language teaching? Language descriptions cannot be based on a data base. "Facts" do not carry any guarantee of pedagogic significance.

Prescription cannot be based solely on "prototypes", either. Prototypes must be of the type to promote learning. What is needed is a succession of prototypes, each supplanted by improved prototypes. A process of authentification goes on. Usefulness should be the criterion, rather than use. One should ask whether or not the prototype might be a catalyst for further learning.

Other disciplines accept the need for simplified versions in the early stages. Why should language teaching not also proceed by catalysis and approximation?

Language knowledge can be likened to a library with books arranged in a system (long-term knowledge). The content of the books is different from the system of classification, or system of language knowledge. Furthermore, a description of the number of books taken out does not tell you about the content of the library. Learners need some guidance in cataloguing what they've got. Descriptions tell us about distinctions, not about how to get there. Prescription of language should be informed by descriptions, but not determined by them.

2. Marianne Celcia-Murcia: Language and communication: A time for equilibrium

It is now time to work seriously toward an approach to second/foreign language teaching which integrates language (i.e. grammar, vocabulary, phonology and discourse) and communication (i.e., appropriately producing and comprehending both spoken and written transactional and interactional messages).

What we need is a combination of top-down (communication) and bottom-up (linguistic skills) approaches to language teaching. Beginning units will have to be more bottom-up content, but should be presented in a context meaningful to the students personally. Intermediate or higher-level programs can be based on speech acts, such as complaining, but attention can still be directed at specific structures. At high intermediate and advanced levels attention can be paid to genre analysis and rhetorical functions.

In working on an integrative approach to language teaching, insights can be brought from linguistics, learning psychology and social

anthropology, to see how language, mind, and sociocultural forces come together.

3. Heidi Byrnes: Metaphors we live by—in search of a sense of place, or the state of the art in language teaching methodology

Our goal as teachers is to create functional users of a language; to allow learners to be fully functional, or at least not bar them from being fully functional members of a linguistic community. This goal has often been violated. Many say that audio–lingual approaches aspired only to robots, communicative approaches only to flawed speakers, and functional approaches only to enabling people to cope with train stations and restaurants.

There are two possible bases for language instruction: linguistic and psychological. The change from the first to the second has led to a multiplicity of approaches and a confused state of affairs.

How can pedagogy converge with linguistics and psychology? 1) It can be content–based, with an emphasis on comprehension. In the future, the difference between instruction in the second language and in a first language may become less distinct. Language teaching can connect with the larger educational context. In content–based instruction learners and teachers are equally matched, and there can be full learner participation. 2) Emphasis on learner styles and strategies empowers students for success. The responsibility for learning shifts from teacher to student.

4. Stephen Krashen: The Input Hypothesis: An update

There are currently several competing hypotheses as to how language acquisition takes place. These hypotheses are first briefly mentioned, then evidence is presented to support the validity of the Input Hypothesis.

1. The Input Hypothesis: We acquire by understanding messages.
2. Skill-building: First learn the rule consciously, then practice it until it becomes automatic.
3. Simple Output: We learn by practicing production.
4. Output plus Correction: Try the new rule out, then receive feedback. If the feedback is negative, change the hypothesis.
5. Comprehensible Output: We acquire by attempting to produce language, but our conversational partner or reader has trouble understanding. We can then adjust our output and try a new version.

The claim here is that comprehensible input leads to the acquisition of language, whereas skill-building and correction lead only to learning. Output leads neither to learning nor to acquisition. Acquisition leads to learning.

Evidence from studies cited shows that only comprehensible input is consistently effective in increasing proficiency; more skill-building, more correction, and more output are not consistently effective. In studies of method comparisons, comprehensible input wins over other methods. Clear gains and high levels of proficiency can take place without output, skill-building, error correction, or comprehensible output. Each time this has occurred, acquirers had obtained comprehensible input. On the other hand, high levels of proficiency cannot take place without comprehensible input. Summaries of the studies cited are included.

B. Comments and Questions

Descriptive linguistics, psychology, pragmatics and language acquisition theory have all competed at different times to be the organizing principle upon which language pedagogy should be based. Many educators seem now to be saying that what is needed for good language teaching is a combination of linguistic, psychologic and sociolinguistic knowledge. It seems that no one discipline can provide all that's needed.

We in SIL have always been good at the linguistic basis of language learning. Perhaps what we need now is to consider how to incorporate more insights from pragmatics, learning psychology and sociolinguistics into both our language learning and the way we teach people to learn. We all know that language learning is more than mastering phonology and grammar, but much of our language

learning activities are still based on structuralist and behavioristic paradigms.

We can also benefit from second language acquisition theory, bearing in mind that this is an area in which there is currently much debate.

Questions:

1. How can we incorporate more pragmatics, discourse analysis (in the sense of dialogue or conversational analysis), and sociolinguistic insights into our concept of language learning and teaching about language learning?

2. How can we engineer more intelligible input for ourselves in non-classroom settings such as our village allocations? In other words, are there ways in which to modify or control the language sources so that it becomes input that is intelligible to us?

II. What Approaches and Methods are We Currently Using to Teach Various Aspects of language?

A. Paper Summaries

1. Kenneth Chastain: Second-language learning: Engaging, stimulating, and converting

We have tried to find an easy way to learn languages. There isn't one. We must first of all engage the students if they are to learn. A student must focus on the task at hand in order to learn.

Principles in engaging students in the learning process: 1) Describe the learning process; 2) Make students aware of the cause-effect relationship of engagement; 3) Choose learning tasks that require engagement; 4) Give all students clear and helpful feedback; 5) Choose objectives that require engagement; 6) Make metacognitive skills clear.

Stimulation of mental processes is also important to second-language learning. Students should be required to stimulate types of mental processes which are required for communication. (Due to time constraints this topic was touched on only briefly in the oral presentation.)

Converting – changing or transforming to another form – is essential to communication. The speaker converts thoughts to language and the listener converts language to thought. Both parties must participate actively, must know the components of language in a functional and usable fashion.

2. Diane Larsen-Freeman: Consensus and divergence on the role, content and process of teaching grammar

Over the past 50 years the focus in language teaching has shifted from form to content to use. People are now coming to realize that all three are important.

Language teaching is now seen as a form of consciousness-raising, allowing for a wide variety of approaches, not just "giving the rules". Teachers want to incorporate new activities and not necessarily drop the old. A pragmatic approach is needed in which one may still use drills and pattern practices in new guises along with problem-solving, role-playing and discourse-based activities.

In the area of errors, some reconciliation is needed between correction of all errors and no correction at all. The question still remains as to how and when to correct errors.

3. Michael O'Malley and Anna Uhl Chamot: Learning strategies: Implications for language learning methods

Learning strategies are conscious steps the learner takes to enhance his or her learning. Strategies can be grouped into three basic categories: Metacognitive strategies, Cognitive strategies, and Social/Affective strategies.

Metacognitive strategies answer the questions: "How do I learn?" "How can I learn more?" "What can I do?" Some of the answers are: 1) Plan what I will do. 2) Monitor what I will do. 3) Evaluate what I have done.

Cognitive strategies answer the questions: "How can I understand?" "How can I remember?" "What can I do?" Some of the answers are: 1) Elaborate prior knowledge. 2) Take notes. 3) Classify or group

ideas. 4) Make inferences and predictions. 5) Summarize important ideas. 6) Use images and pictures.

Social/Affective strategies include: 1) Ask questions for clarification. 2) Cooperate with classmates to learn. 3) Use positive self-talk.

How to teach strategies: 1) Model a strategy. 2) Teach—name, describe, tell why. 3) Practice. 4) Discuss. 5) Apply.

After the presentation of this paper (it was given in the presession) there was a discussant, Earl Stevick. He voiced two frustrations about language learning strategies:

1. It sounds as though strategies are nouns: things we can define and count, rather than verbs or activities. There are doubts that strategies can be handed across like a hand-tool.
2. There are many dimensions in which things are happening: formal language situations as well as informal. What account is taken of learning styles in discussing learning strategies?

4. Anita Wendon: Metacognitive Strategies in Writing

Several questions for research come to mind in considering the use of metacognitive strategies in writing. First, consider some of the metacognitive strategies learners use to control their learning: 1) planning, 2) monitoring, 3) evaluating.

> Research question 1: What mental operations or procedures are involved in the implementation of each metacognitive strategy?

There is cerain metacognitive knowledge or awareness or task knowledge which learners need to know about. The learner needs to know: 1) the task purpose, 2) the nature of the task, 3) whether the task requires deliberate learning, 4) what the task demands are: a) the knowledge resources necessary to complete the task, b) how to go about completing it, c) which strategies to use, and d) whether it is hard or easy.

> Research question 2: What kind of task knowledge is required for the execution of each of the metacognitive strategies in the completion of a writing task?

Cognitive strategies are mental operations students choose to learn things at four steps : 1) Selecting what is to be learned. 2)

Comprehension of information. 3) Storage in long-term memory. 4) If necessary, retrieval.

> Research question 3: What insight does the study of metacognitive strategies shed on the use of cognitive strategies?

Eight case studies of medium to high level proficiency writers in a second language were considered. The results showed the centrality of task knowledge to the effective implementation of strategies in writing.

Conclusions:

> 1. Task knowledge is a prerequisite for the use of cognitive strategies. The learner may not have been aware of the need for a strategy or of what strategy would work.
> 2. The relationship between metacognitive and cognitive strategies is hierarchical; cognitive strategies are auxiliary to planning strategies and depend upon them.
> 3. We need a new research paradigm in strategies. Heretofore task knowledge has been ignored. We need an integrated approach to research which considers task-based strategy-knowledge networks.

5. Dorothy M. Chun: The State of the Art in Teaching Pronunciation

In language teaching in the past a structuralist, comparative analysis approach was often taken, focusing on phonemes or segments rather than on the whole. More recently pronunciation has been ignored, with emphasis on "getting the message across".

What are our goals? To have someone be intelligible or to have socially acceptable pronunciation, to know how to interrupt, how to sound polite? It was thought at one time that intonation was not essential. It is now seen that this is not true; suprasegmentals are important. Common denominators in research point toward the importance of teaching discourse intonation. Language teaching in the next decade should stress communicative proficiency and discourse intonation.

Two reasons to teach pronunciation are that students need to understand and be understood. Teaching pronunciation with a "top-down" approach rather than a "bottom-up" approach seems to be

effective as shown by a link between teaching intonation and high scores on the ACTFL 1989 Oral Proficiency Interview.

The use of computer technology for improving pronunciation and intonation should also be considered. Computers can provide sensory feedback to learners, especially the visualization of intonation contours. It may further be possible to use computers to evaluate speaking proficiency in the future. There is a definite need to move toward more interactional formats in teaching pronunciation, and computer technology can help us do that.

6. Gail Robinson: Second Culture Acquisition

Our goal in second culture acquisition is to develop cultural versatility. What we should aim for is attaining a synthesis between learner and the cultural objective, taking as an example the color purple. The learner, coming from a blue culture, is blue. In plunging himself/herself into a pot of red (second culture), he/she does not become red, but purple. A learner from a yellow culture will become orange.

In teaching about culture, one should not start by pointing out the differences, but the similarities. In fact, we should actively look for similarities as a point of departure. Differences form a basis for stereotyping and negative feelings and there is an automatic tendency toward perceptual errors. People tend to grossly overestimate the frequency of "different" behavior.

When we turn to examining the differences, we should also stress the similarities beneath the differences. Aim for empathy through analogy. "I felt out of place when..." "I felt frightened the first time I..."

Have the students do ethnographic interviews. Try to get them to elicit the feelings and experiences of the person being interviewed, not using newspaper–reporter style questions, but open–ended questions. Teach them to take plenty of time, be aware of their own feelings, have a participant–observer orientation.

B. Comments and Questions

The investigation of language learning strategies strikes me as a promising way in which to help poorer language learners become better. Perhaps poorer language learners can be taught to use some strategies to make their learning more effective.

The notion that in language learning we need top–down processing and bottom–up processing fits in well with our time–honored SIL insistence on the importance of discourse as well as syntax and morphology. It is also interesting to note that language teachers are discovering what we've always said: that intonation is the place to start in learning pronunciation.

There is generally more consensus about teaching than about theories of language acquisition. We might do well to start from successful teaching and work backward to see how it was done.

Questions:

1. How can the process and results of discourse analysis be more effectively used to aid language auto–pedagogy?
2. How can SIL computer programs, specifically CECIL, be used to help not only to analyze phonology but also to improve pronunciation? Are there other, commercially available programs which could also help?
3. Chastain says that the single most important factor in learning is what you already know. What kinds of knowledge aid in language acquisition? Does propositional knowledge lead to procedural knowledge?

III. How can we train/educate language teachers most effectively?

A. Paper Summaries

1. Donald Freeman: Mistaken constructs: Re–examining the nature and assumptions of language teacher education

The discipline should build an independent classroom–based theory of language pedagogy, instead of borrowing constructs. "A way of seeing is also a way of not seeing."

a. Content and pedagogical content knowledge.

Language was once thought of as a constitutive human faculty, a system, an active process. With American Structuralists, it became viewed as a tool rather than a facility. Now it is seen in a social context as contextual and interactional.

Substantive knowledge (knowing subject matter) is a different thing from syntactic knowledge (knowing how to teach it to others). Language teachers more often depend on substantive knowledge than on syntactic knowledge. Teachers need not only subject knowledge but pedagogical content knowledge—the ways of representing and formulating a subject which makes it more comprehensible to others. No content is separable from who is learning.

b. Methodology and teachers' conceptions of practice.

We think it is good to teach teachers isolated "methods", whereas most teachers learn to teach by teaching. Teachers have imprints from their own education, an "apprenticeship of observation", which it is hard for teaching instruction to shake. Once on the job, teachers think more of what can be done than what should be done. "Whatever works" is the motto.

Studying language methodology is not the only way people learn to teach. Teachers in training are transferring what they already know about teaching from the way they were taught.

c. The Act of Teaching as Arranging Lessons.

The act of teaching is not put together by units. The classroom is a context. The teacher is a person who learns and develops. For new teachers management and discipline is their primary concern. Concern for learning is an epiphenomenon. As they develop, teachers' thinking changes from rule–based to contextualized, reinforcing a dynamic view of education as the negotiation of complex demands.

2. Vicki Galloway: Reflective Teachers

Teachers have many control needs. Methods are often modified for ease of control. What is missing from the knowledge base of teaching is the voice of teachers themselves.

Teacher education of tomorrow will be more reflective. Videos will be powerful instruments. When teachers watched videos of other teachers' classrooms and were asked to comment on what they saw, the comments were mostly on surface-level specifics of behavior with little thoughtful stretching or reflection.

A number of things are necessary for reflection to take place: 1. time, 2. volition, 3. purpose, 4. guidance and control, 5. structure and formality.

Through reflection teachers learned some of the following learners' control needs:

1. Self-monitoring – awareness of what one is learning to do and how it fits with goals.
2. Cognitive involvement – tasks that stimulate and energize purposeful thought and action.
3. Authenticity – tasks and contexts that have direct applicability to the real world and that are perceived by learners as usable and useful; tasks that make sense.
4. Ownership – The need for personal involvement, for equality and shared responsibility in learning. The need to develop a sense of partnership with the teacher in the pursuit of common learning goals.
5. Clear Expectations – The need to understand task demands and maintain a sense of the expectations of others.
6. Sense of Community – The need to feel connected to others in ways that have important consequence; the need for opportunities to interact with others as partners.
7. Dignity – The need to feel important, confident, capable.
8. Flexibility – The need to work and learn in accord with one's own style, pace, and modality preferences.
9. Communication – The need to make and be responsible for one's decisions in self-expression. The need to create.
10. Sense of Accomplishment – The opportunity to exercise personal responsibility, to self assess and reward.
11. Variety – A rejection of sameness in task or task repetition for display purposes.
12. Integration of Learning – The need for tasks that constantly re-enter and combine previous knowledge in light of new knowledge or insights, heightened awareness.

13. Psychological Investment – The need for support in learning to recognize and assume personal responsibility for one's own development.

3. Jack Richards: Content Knowledge and Instructional Practice in Second Language Teacher Education

Richards investigated the questions "What do we teach?" (pedagogical content knowledge) and "How do we teach it?" (Instructional practice).

First he surveyed the tables of contents of various books on language pedagogy over the past 20–30 years.

He reported that the sources of knowledge for teaching pedagogy are:

1. Expert knowledge, reflecting a skills-oriented approach and theories of acquisition. Subject-matter knowledge and teaching skills are stressed.
2. Task analysis. See what people do on the job; identify tasks, specify abilities, skills and techniques. Focus here on practical skills.
3. Survey teachers as to what their needs are. The question arises here as to whether teachers know what they need to know.
4. Look at what is actually going on in real courses.

Considering pedagogical practice, Richards found that information transmissions is the major mode of instruction, not exploration of the process of teaching itself. Ways of doing the latter include micro-teaching and the reflection process: event, recollection of the event, analysis of the event. The use of reaction sheets, group sessions, journals, and diaries also explore the teaching process. Interactive decision-making is important, too.

Richards contends that better teacher education involves a move from a training perspective to an educating perspective; a move toward a research perspective, toward thinking about education rather than about linguistics and second language acquisition; a movement from language-based approaches to teaching-based approaches.

4. Earl Stevick: Oakley's thesis is "Anything you can do, I can do better." Two corollaries are: "Anything I can do, you can too, but probably not as well" and "Anything I can't do, you can't do either."

Stevick interviewed seven gifted language learners, all of whom were quite different. He then played the tapes of four of the learners' interviews for people studying to be language teachers and asked them, "Which of these people do you find it easiest to relate to, and which the hardest?"

Most of the language teachers related to the learner who was the most structured, who copied out paradigms in various ways, who placed great value on drills, and who rated instructors based on how limp and exhausted they left him at the end of the session. They showed least preference for the learner who had no formal instruction but just "threw himself into life", without conscious thinking or analysis, and who found the very idea of thinking why he should use one ending and not another intimidating.

Stevick's conclusion is that the composite of the personality of students studying to be language teachers is that of a person who seeks external structure and likes an orderly and predictable world. He thinks that there is likely to be a mismatch between most of these teachers and their students.

B. Musings

We are endeavoring to teach people how to become independent language learners, rather than just students. They will have to take the role of curriculum designers and teachers as well as students; they will have to organize their own learning, including the content, sequencing, and methodology. Does our instruction in fact help them to do this? Can we help them to meet some of their own control needs?

Another thing we are doing, of course, is teaching by example. Do we model language learning or do we just impart propositional knowledge? In what ways do our language projects prepare people for the real thing? Could we integrate the language project more with the lectures? Do we teach the way we were taught or are we open to new methods and approaches? ■

SECOND INTERNATIONAL COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS ASSOCIATION (ICLA) CONFERENCE

July 29 – August 2, 1991, U. C.. Santa Cruz

Les Bruce

I. INTRODUCTION

This, the second meeting of the newly formed association, was held on the campus of the University of California at Santa Cruz. SIL member Eugene Casad (Mexico branch) coordinated the conference; other SIL representation included David Tuggy and Jim Watters, who presented papers. Approximately one hundred and ten papers were presented in 40-minute periods, and 10 papers of 1½ hour length were presented in plenary sessions. The next ICLA meeting is planned for July, 1993 at the University of Leuven, Belgium.

II. TOPICS

Most of the 40-minute papers presented cognitive semantic analyses of topics in syntax, and many dealt with specific analyses in lexical semantics. Other areas of specific focus dealt with analyses based on Cognitive Grammar as developed by Langacker and his students, spatial orientations in syntax in general, iconicity, and frame semantics. Also included were topics in discourse, psychology, metaphor, and metonymy.

There was a pervasive reference to metaphor in the dynamics of the phenomena dealt with by many of the papers. Within the Cognitive framework there is not much difference between giving a semantic analysis of a subcategory like "The prepositions *por* and *para* in Spanish" and an analysis of a more syntactic-like category as in a paper on "Indicative versus subjunctive in French." By and large the papers seemed to be of very good quality.

III. PLENARY SPEAKERS

The plenary sessions included a wide variety of speakers. Among them were Ray Gibbs (psychologist from UC Santa Cruz), Mark Johnson (philosopher from Southern Illinois University), Leonard Talmy (cognitive linguist from the State University of New York at Buffalo), Sandra Thompson (UC Santa Barbara), George Lakoff (cognitive linguist from UC Berkeley), Charles Fillmore (UC Berkeley), Zolton Kovecses (U of Budapest), Dirk Geeraerts (U of Leuven, Belgium), Eve Sweetser (UC Berkeley), and Ronald Langacker (UC San Diego).

IV. THEORY AND POLITICS

One of the motifs of the conference was the uniqueness of the cognitive linguistics approach to linguistics. The organization is specifically trying to build a bridge with the discipline of psychology. Apparently, the formation of the Cognitive Linguistics Association has caused a reaction from some linguists outside the Association who object to the name of the new society. The implication they perceive seems to be that other linguists do not give enough attention to psychology.

Psychologists in general are skeptical of the work of cognitive linguists, because of the subjective nature of linguists' analyses. Leonard Talmy himself expressed his concern that we seek to find psychologically real units. Ray Gibbs, psychologist at Santa Cruz, was seen as the society's hope for doing solid psycholinguistic research which would validate the work of cognitive linguistics in the eyes of the psychology community. At best, perhaps we linguists can postulate some structures with hypotheses about their relationship to cognitive capabilities and hand these to the psychologists for testing.

The society is clearly trying to define their distinctives within the field. Cognitive linguistics is firmly committed to the viewpoint that grammar is not autonomous vis-à-vis semantics or cognitive processes, which some consider to be distinct from language or to entail language itself. Much of the definition of the movement comes from the writings of Ronald Langacker (1982, 1983, 1991).

Langacker denies an abstract syntactic deep structure and rules for deriving grammatical surface structure; he postulates grammatical

units as form–meaning composites (bipolar, semantic–phonological symbolic units), and a symbolic grammar that is not entirely arbitrary: "Grammar itself serves an imagic function and ... much of it has a figurative character" (Langacker 1983:36). The iconic tendencies of grammar are a part of this same view, but more than iconicity is assumed. Langacker (1982) sees grammar and lexicon forming a continuum. Since the grammar is not an autonomous system with its own rules independent of and unrelated to pragmatics and semantics, grammatical analysis is seen to include semantic and instrumental functions as a part of the structure.

Among Langacker's students who have discussed theoretical issues of Cognitive Grammar and utilized Langacker's approach to produce descriptive studies are SIL members David Tuggy (1981) and Eugene Casad (1985). The movement will last, presumably, as long as its members are able to produce substantial analyses of language which are motivated by observable patterns of grammar and morphology without appearing too arbitrary.

In addition to Langacker, Rene Dirven of the University of Duisburg and George Lakoff are the other two prominent leaders of the society. Some at the conference expressed concern that the society could become a society dedicated solely to the study of metaphor. Much of the focus on metaphor comes through studies by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980), and Lakoff (1987).

V. PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

The general approach of analyzing and describing language structures partly in terms of cognitive functions will probably appeal to many SIL translators. It is true that we need to be concerned about continuing to do descriptive work which will last and be useful as linguistic paradigms change, and our interpretive work needs to keep psychological reality in mind. We should not, however, refrain from utilizing a theoretical framework like Cognitive Grammar for fear of premature commitment to a paradigm or fear of a nonrigorous functional description as long as we continue to emphasize good description. Furthermore, organizing grammatical descriptions around common sense cognitive functions could help our translators make more sense of the larger picture in the languages they are studying. A common sense description will help them do a better

analysis and learn the grammatical systems better; that is a plus even if they have to admit their own, outsider's folk theory of the grammar into their description in places.

I am sure that more SIL fieldworkers would benefit from studying with Langacker. Alternatively, we can incorporate many of the semantic and cognitive parameters which have been used meaningfully in Cognitive Grammar into basically Tagmemic, Systemic, and Stratificational models without great difficulty. A lot of the cognitive material already overlaps with much of what many SIL field linguists do in these models. Those who use generative models and who are equally interested in cognitive issues will undoubtedly want to supplement their formal frameworks with observations concerning functional and communicative use.

Computational linguistics was addressed in a paper by Cathy Harris, a cognitive psychologist from UC San Diego. Her paper discussed "Verbal polysemy as a knowledge representation problem." Her analysis discussed semantic features with which lexemes needed to be marked in order to do text interpretation by computer. She was working with synonym networks, syntagmatic collocate networks, and abstract properties of lexemes. Her programs utilized models based on the spreading activation and connectionism processes, processes developed in psychological theories of human cognition.

Lexical topics were represented by many insightful analyses of specific lexical sets in a variety of languages. The most valuable insights for fieldworkers in semantics are the identification of some of the semantic properties and semantic systems of natural language; these are the building blocks of semantics which we can feed into studies of typology and universals in semantics. Beyond these descriptive analyses, few people seem to be interested in fleshing out lexical meanings, which both contrast lexemes with (paradigmatically) related lexemes and fully specify the meaning as we would expect for a dictionary entry. There were no discussions directly relating to the more mundane aspects of dictionary work.

I think those who are actually trying to write dictionaries will want to look to others outside the cognitive semantics group to complement what we find there in lexical semantics. Work in network semantic relations and semantic primitives, which also uses psychologically

verified prototype effects in language (and related concepts), will undoubtedly serve us well in our lexicography work.

Papers which struggled with theoretical questions of polysemy were not too encouraging to the rest of us (if we were still holding onto the hope of discretely distinguishing between senses of meanings of the same word). In other words, the difference between ambiguity (e.g. in polysemy) and vagueness (e.g. range of reference based on one general meaning) is still very much in question.

As translators, we do not translate senses of meaning one-for-one any more than we translate words one-for-one. We simply must analyze the meaning or function of a lexeme in each context, with one eye on its referent, and use the best expression in the target language to express that concept. We cannot, that is, depend on our dictionary to isolate for us every possible relevant constellation of semantic factors that will emerge in the interaction of a lexeme with its context. Therefore, since current theoretical work on polysemy is so tentative, we should probably not hold out too much hope for discovering watertight rules for distinguishing single senses from multiple senses in the dictionary. We rather need to work on practical procedures for making decisions based on centers of senses without trying to draw the boundaries too definitely. As I said, I think there is no theoretically motivated way to do that, and it would not accomplish anything for our applications in language learning and translation whether we describe the meanings of a lexeme in two entries or more than two. That is not to say that we should not try to improve our dictionary work to enhance its input into translation projects. I am only saying that our energies would be better spent on improving semantic descriptions and definitions without striving to formulate them in terms of discrete categories of distinct senses of meaning.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation. By Deborah Tannen. 1990. New York: William Morrow and Co. Inc. Pp. 330. $18.95.

Reviewed by Charles Peck

According to Dr. Tannen, popular response to her previous book, *That's Not What I Meant*, demanded that this book be written. And as she was writing this book, her lectures and articles provoked unusually enthusiastic and emotional responses. Her book is well written; she uses lots of anecdotal illustrations – illustrations in which anyone can see himself or herself. The author shows great good will to both sexes and the book is a pleasure to read.

The theme of *You Just Don't Understand* is that men and women have different styles of conversation. Men grow up and live in a world of competition. They are conscious of hierarchy and how they move up or move down by what they say. Women grow up and live in a world of cooperation and conciliation. So when a woman talks about some of her concerns, the man offers his solutions, not commiseration. When the woman makes a suggestion (which would be appropriate among women), the man perceives it as an attempt by the woman to control him.

The book is divided into ten chapters and each chapter is divided into many sub–sections. The chapter titles and topics are:

Chapter 1) *Different Words, Different Worlds* presents the problem. Men are sensitive to one–up versus one–down challenges in various situations, while women are sensitive to cooperation and maintaining good relationships.

Chapter 2) *Asymmetries: Women and Men Talking at Cross–purposes* tells how when women discuss their troubles, they sympathize and reinforce each other. When men discuss their troubles, they dismiss each other's complaints and offer solutions or change the topic. Thus when women discuss their troubles with men, they are frustrated with the lack of sympathy. When a man complains to a woman, he is

frustrated when she offers sympathy that seems to him to be somehow trying to control him.

When a couple is lost the man is reluctant to ask directions because to do so would be to admit inferior status. The woman prefers to ask directions because it means forming some kind of community with the addressee and solving the problem. Men tend to want to fix things and solve problems by themselves, while women are more likely to seek help and understanding from others.

Chapter 3) *"Put That Paper Down and Talk to Me!": Rapport-talk and Report-talk* discusses how wives are talkative at home and husbands are almost silent. But in a crowd, the same wives are quiet and the husbands are talkative. Tannen labels the differences "rapport-talk" and "report-talk." Women are good at rapport-talk and men are better at report-talk. Women can talk about the fleeting situations and thoughts that a man pays no attention to. To the man, talk is for "real" information.

At meetings, men ask more, and longer, questions after the talk. On call-in radio shows, even shows aimed at women, more men call in than do women. Men are more likely to tell jokes in the presence of strangers. Women tell jokes to each other, but not in "public."

> Women are more comfortable talking to friends and equals whereas men feel comfortable talking when there is a need to establish and maintain their status in a group (p. 94).

Chapter 4) *Gossip* tells how the intimate, newsy things that women talk about as a part of being intimate is called "gossip" by men. Women value keeping their friends up to date, they feel more a part of the community by doing so. Men do not discuss their problems with other men, generally, but do discuss them with women friends.

After Thanksgiving dinner, the men and boys go out to play ball. The women and girls stay inside and talk. When college students call home, they end up talking to their mothers most of the time. Fathers talk only when there is some business to transact.

Tannen then discusses the difference between innocent gossip and malicious or destructive rumors. In many cultures, malicious rumors are a way of social control. People behave themselves to keep people from talking about them. She discusses briefly how the U.S. media

are going for more of the trivial details of the people they cover. She also mentions how politicians use a well-placed rumor to damage an opponent, then after the damage is done, to retract it.

Nevertheless, noticing and sharing the trivial details about people remains the best way for women to maintain friendships.

Chapter 5) *"I'll Explain It to You": Lecturing and Listening* deals with how so often in mixed groups men talk and women listen. Men tell jokes, expound on topics of news, politics, or science and the women listen, however bored they may be. In unmixed groups, women share back and forth, men listen to each other and interrupt and interject their ideas or change the topic. Tannen is careful not to say that all men fail to listen to women talk, but that it is a prevalent pattern for men to talk and for women to listen.

Chapter 6) *Community and Contrast: Styles in Conflict* continues much the same themes as the previous chapter, branching out into more situations.

Chapter 7) *Who's Interrupting? Issues of Dominance and Control.* In this chapter Tannen discusses some of her previous research on conversations. Some researchers have reported that more men interrupt women than women men. But Tannen says such statistics are not of much use, unless the researchers classify the interruptions for their intent and effect – for instance, at a meal, interruptions about passing food are always tolerated.

Tannen divides speakers into "high-considerateness" and "high-involvement" talkers. "High-considerateness" speakers converse with one speaker at a time. They leave a culturally determined time between speakers. "High-involvement" speakers usually overlap, talking at the same time. But their talking is all along the same line – they reinforce one another. I recall hearing two Frenchmen talking together, and my impression was that neither one stopped talking. They talked at the same time. They seemed to hear each other and seemed to be enjoying the conversation.

The difficulty arises when people of different backgrounds come together. A "high-considerateness" speaker feels interrupted when a "high-involvement" speaker begins repeating his words while he is still talking. Or a "high-considerateness" speaker may feel he or she

can't get a word in edgewise if the conversation is dominated by "high–involvement" speakers. Women are more often "high–involvement" speakers and men "high–considerateness" speakers.

Chapter 8) *Damned if You Do* is about the difficulties women have climbing the status ladder. Their early socialization teaches them not to put themselves forward above others. They gain friends by being more or less equal to their friends. On the other hand, men are always putting themselves forward because that is what they learned as children.

Chapter 9) *"Look at Me When I'm Talking to You!": Cross Talk Across the Ages*. Here Tannen describes a series of video recordings made by Bruce Dorval. Dorval seated two people of the same sex in front of a video camera and told them to talk about something serious. The subjects were seven–year–old boys and girls, twelve–year–old boys and girls, sixteen–year–old boys and girls, and twenty–five–year–old men and women. At all ages, the boys and men sat parallel and did not look at each other much. They were nevertheless quite involved with each other. They changed topics frequently. The girls and women sat facing each other and looking at each other. They talked about each topic longer, with more leveling and reinforcement.

Some people see North American men as being too cold in their conversation. It seems to me that we cannot change the way the children act, but as a culture we could acculturate men and women to be more like each other. That, apparently, is what happens in other cultures.

Chapter 10) *Living with Asymmetry: Opening the Lines of Communication* can be summarized by quoting two paragraphs:

> Both women and men could benefit from learning each other's styles. Many women could learn from men to accept some conflict and difference without seeing it as a threat to intimacy, and many men could learn from women to accept interdependence without seeing it as a threat to their freedom (p. 294).

> If accommodating automatically is a strain, so is automatically resisting others' will. Sometimes it is more effective to take the footing of an ally. The "best" style is a flexible one. The freest person is the one who can choose which strategies to use, not the one who must slavishly replay the same script over and over—as we all tend to do.

> There is nothing inherently wrong with automatic behavior. If we did not do most things automatically, it would take massive concentration and energy to do anything. But by becoming aware of our ways of talking and how effective they are, we can override automatic impulses and adapt our habitual styles when they are not serving us well (pp. 294–5).

Reflections

Tannen's proposition that men always perceive a conversational encounter as one–up versus one–down contest set me to thinking about W. C. Townsend, "Uncle Cam".

Much of Uncle Cam's diplomatic success came because he made the person he was talking to feel one–up. He never resented being made one–down. He made officials feel superior and gracious. He made himself the optimistic underdog full of good ideas.

Even after official snubs, such as being left to sit in a waiting room for two or three hours, he showed no irritation but went into the office positive as if he had not been made to wait. Without complaint, Uncle Cam made the official feel one–up and good–willed toward him.

Much of the JAARS (Jungle Aviation And Radio Service) emphasis on "service" is another way to say much the same thing. We are here to serve people. Serving makes us one–down to the one(s) we serve.

On a personal level, I have more than once softened hard–nose baggage agents and customs agents by asking, "What do you suggest I do?" or "What do you think I should do now?"

So there is value in skillfully using the one–up versus one–down contest to win the help of other people. ■

The Native Speaker is Dead! By Thomas Paikeday. 1985. Missisauga, Ontario: Paikeday Press. Pp. 123. Paperback, $7.50 U.S., $10.50 Canada.

Reviewed by Pete Unseth

Ethiopia

This book is largely a result of the author's reaction as a lexicographer (not a sociolinguist) to Chomsky's statement, "The sentences generated will have to be acceptable to the native speaker." Paikeday, as a lexicographer, claims

> that the term 'native speaker', in its linguistic sense [n.b. read "Chomskyan" sense] represents an ideal, a convenient fiction, ... rather than a reality ... I have no doubt that 'native speaker' in the linguist's sense of arbiter of grammaticality and acceptability of language is dead (p. x).

The rest of the book makes little sense unless the reader keeps this specific sense of "native speaker" in mind. Paikeday's objection to "native speaker" does not stem from the possibility of a person having a "mother tongue" (the usual concept associated with "native speaker"). In fact he acknowledges the validity of the concept of "mother tongue speaker". Rather, Paikeday objects to the use of

> 'native speaker' in the sense of sole arbiter of grammaticality or one who has intuitions of a proprietary nature about his or her mother tongue ... a myth propagated by linguists (p. 87).

Though his argument is often aimed at Chomsky's position, Paikeday's argument is not with Chomsky alone, for Pike, theoretically very different from Chomsky, once said, "The native speaker is always right."

Many of the linguists with whom Paikeday interacts do not seem to share his strong convictions regarding the term "native speaker". Several (e.g. Halliday, Quirk, Crystal) find it useful, even if not well defined. Halliday, in fact, suggests that this vagueness is actually a positive, useful quality (p. 64). However, I think most of this stems from the differing definitions of "native speaker" as mentioned above, or at least a differing focus.

Paikeday documents a number of cases of multilinguals that do not nicely fit the usual definition of "native speaker", arguing that this nullifies the validity of the term. Some of his correspondents suggest that the core definition of "native speaker" is clear, though the edges taper off into vagueness. As a parallel, I would suggest the term "hometown" is likewise a very widely used term, generally understood, even if there are problem cases. For example, I have lived more of my life in Addis Ababa than in any other town, but feel more comfortable and truthful in claiming Lake Wobegone, Minnesota as my hometown. Though it is not always easy, or even possible, to classify every case, this does not invalidate a widely used, useful, intuitively real term.

Paikeday's willing acceptance of the term "mother tongue speaker" is compatible with his vociferous rejection of "native speaker" only if I remind myself of Paikeday's fixation on "native speaker" as the "sole arbiter of grammaticality". I presume this is because Chomsky made no claims about the authority of the judgments of "mother tongue speakers".

The book is a creative, reasonably successful attempt to edit a big pile of correspondence into a coherent discussion. Paikeday is to be credited with doing a fair job of splicing comments and context together; I found no places that looked like statements out of context or purposefully juxtaposed to embarrass anyone. I was, however, disappointed in Paikeday's manner of argumentation, as he often used what I consider to be straw man tactics and improper comparisons to discredit ideas he rejected.

The back cover, title page, and the advertising single out Chomsky's involvement in the book's discussion. Like most other readers, probably including Paikeday himself, I was disappointed in their skewed interchanges, such as the following from near the end of their discussions:

Paikeday: "You dodge the issue ... and escape into the realms of metaphysics, merely suggesting that I try to see the question as you see it."

Chomsky: "I'm sorry you don't see it. Not seeing it, you really must face these hopeless and pointless problems, but you will surely never find any solution to them, as you will discover as you proceed, since

the problems arise from serious misunderstanding, in the first place and an illegitimate reference to the existence of an object, 'language', as a Platonic object."

Returning to Paikeday's "linguistic sense" of "native speaker", I still think that the term has validity even if it is difficult to apply to all cases. I doubt whether his arguments will convince the linguistic public, certainly not the broader community who are not interested in the "sole arbiter" issue. There is still a strong feeling that there is such a person as a "native speaker" to judge sentences, e.g. *Competence Differences Between Native Speakers and Near Native Speakers*, by Coppetiers (Language 1987, pp. 544–573).

I also doubt this book will have a serious impact on the use of the term "native speaker" in sociolinguistics, and the term will certainly continue to be used in its popular sense. Paikeday should follow his own advice and bow to Horace's judgment that usage is supreme.

In conclusion, reports of the death of the native speaker are greatly exaggerated; he has merely had doubt cast on the exclusiveness and soundness of his judgments. The native speaker is alive and well, if imperfectly defined. ■

Principles of Grammar and Learning. By William O'Grady. 1987. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. xiii, 233.

Reviewed by Karl Franklin, Pacific Area

According to the dust jacket, *Principles of Grammar and Learning* "is concerned with the nature of linguistic competence and with the cognitive structures underlying its acquisition and use." O'Grady argues that "the basic syntactic categories ... can be derived from a set of fundamental semantic contrasts" (p. ix). The key concept in this book is what the author calls "dependency". To explicate his theory, O'Grady examines extraction, quantifier float, extraposition, and other phenomena, all acquired without any linguistic knowledge.

Principles of Grammar and Learning is divided as follows: Categories and Principles (pp. 1–45), Grammatical Relations and Thematic

Roles (pp. 46–78), Extraction from Phrases (pp. 79–99), Extraction from Clauses (pp. 100–124), Anaphoric Dependencies (pp. 125–159), Extraposition and Quantifier Placement (pp. 160–180), and Principles and Prospects (pp. 181–210). Notes, references, and an index conclude the study.

Throughout the book O'Grady is concerned with a child's general conceptual inventory and how universal linguistic properties can be accounted for if there is no specific genetic endowment (p. 44). O'Grady outlines a number of development sequences in early childhood grammatical development that illustrate well known categories in adult grammar.

Chapter two will be of interest to SIL proponents of either tagmemics or relational grammar, commenting as it does upon grammatical relations. Are these to be considered primes (as in RG), or are they recoverable from the configurational properties of the phrase structure (as in TG)? *Principles of Grammar and Learning* opts for the position that language learners posit semantic entities to match syntactic phrases according to hierarchical structuring and the subject last principle (p. 77).

Chapters three and four cover the extraction of categories from phrases and clauses. In particular they examine the formation of mono–clausal *wh–* questions, especially in English. O'Grady contrasts his analysis with the versions of TG that account for these same phenomena on the basis of innate principles. He argues, for clauses, that properties such as syntactic continuity account for extraction, rather than bounding nodes or government (p. 100). All of the devices introduced in this book are taken to be learnable without the help of innate linguistic principles.

In Chapter five O'Grady claims "that the principles governing anaphoric dependencies exploit very basic syntactic notions (precedence, phrasal categories, thematic dependency)" (p. 159). Similarly, in Chapter six, the properties of extraposition and quantifier principles are derived from the same syntactic notions.

Chapter seven summarizes the thesis of the book: "that there may be learnable grammars but that they consist of categories and principles quite unlike those found in transformational grammar and Lexical

Functional Grammar" (p. 181). Such grammars are constructed on a nonlinguistic conceptual base (p. 209).

Principles of Grammar and Learning will be of some interest to SIL people, especially to those interested in recent arguments about how children acquire language competence. It is clearly written and offers insight into how a theory can be proposed which utilizes contemporary research and terminology and yet offers an alternative view of certain basic concepts, such as innateness and language acquisition. ■

Proceedings Of The Seventh West Coast Conference On Formal Linguistics. Edited by Hagit Borer. 1988. Stanford, CA: Stanford Linguistics Association.

Reviewed by Michael Maxwell

WCCFL 7 was held at the University of California at Irvine in February 1988. Of the 35 papers presented, 28 appear in this volume; I have reviewed those of greatest interest to field linguists. Syntax papers predominate, and most of these are based on the Government Binding (GB) theory. The phonology papers are all based on the theory of lexical phonology.

It is worth remarking that an objection often leveled against transformationalist (GB) theories, "that they are based too heavily on English" does not hold in this volume. Japanese features prominently in many of the papers, as do such other non–Indo–European languages as Chinese, Korean, Arabic, Indonesian, and Hausa, and the less commonly studied Indo–European languages Albanian and Persian.

Young–mee Yu Cho: Korean Assimilation

Cho proposes to reduce what in previous analyses of Korean has seemed a chaotic set of phonological processes, including consonant assimilation, consonant cluster simplification, etc., to a set of three much simpler rules. For instance, the process of assimilation, which

must be expressed as several different processes under traditional generative phonology, may be expressed under Cho's lexicalist theory as "Given two successive sets of features of the same class node, where one set of features forms the coda of a syllable and is a subset of the other, delink that less specified set of features." Even one unfamiliar with the terminology of lexical phonology can appreciate that Cho's analysis is not only simpler, it unifies the assimilation processes, at the same time capturing the peculiar fact that only a subset of consonants assimilate. Linguists faced with complex (morpho)phonological alternations should examine this article (probably after reading a tutorial on lexical phonology; see the references in Kroeger 1990).

Megan Crowhurst: Empty Consonants and Direct Prosody

Crowhurst, like Cho, works in the theory of lexical phonology. The question she addresses is a rather esoteric problem within that theory, concerning the status of the "skeletal tier." She argues in favor of this tier, which is the level of feature structure which specifies whether a given segment is a consonant or vowel. But the data she brings to bear is of interest to anyone studying a language with (morpho)phonemic alternations which are almost, but not quite, consistent, or which are just odd.

Crowhurst gives an example of an alternation which is almost consistent (adopted from Marlett and Stemberger 1983): in the Seri language, a prefix which is normally *yo–* surfaces as *yo:–* before certain stem–initial vowels, accompanied by deletion of the stem–initial vowel. This otherwise unexceptional process is blocked before certain apparently vowel–initial stems, which Crowhurst (following Marlett and Stemberger) claims begin with an "empty" consonant. Given underspecification theory, this consonant must be represented only on the skeletal tier, since none of its other features can be determined.

Crowhurst's resolution of the theoretical question of the status of the skeletal tier stands or falls depending on the validity of the empty consonant analysis of Seri (and a similar analysis of Southern Paiute). Not long ago, empty consonants would have been condemned by generative linguists as a case of absolute neutralization. This is because the underlying form of consonant was supposed to have all

its features specified, but the choice of those features for an empty consonant would be arbitrary, since the surface form of the segment is completely determined by its context. But given a theory of phonology which allows underspecification, the underlying form of an empty segment is no longer arbitrary: it has just those features which can be determined. In the case of Seri, only enough features to define it as a consonant. It is an archiphoneme par excellence.

José Ignacio Hualde: Affricates are not Contour Segments

When I studied phonemics in 1975, we were taught that the first step in analysis was to determine whether "ambivalent sequences" were actually single segments or sequences. The issue is still alive, although as resurrected in lexical phonology the questions look considerably different.

Consider such "critters" as affricates, prenasalized stops, diphthongs, and segments bearing contour tones. These "things" are treated in modern generative phonology as single segments, and the question becomes whether they have internal sequential structure. One proposal (due to Sagey 1986) is that if such a segment has incompatible features (such as + and – continuant in affricates), those features must be organized sequentially. In that case, Sagey predicts that they will appear different to phonological processes depending on whether a process "looks" at them from the left or the right. For instance, an affricate would appear to be [–cont] from the left, but [+cont] from the right.

Sagey's analysis is an appeal to the innate language-learning mechanism, and has the advantage of explaining how a child learning a language learns to correctly apply the rules, in this case to "ambivalent sequences." Rather than applying a discovery procedure (as in traditional phonemics) or an evaluation procedure (as in older generative phonology), the choice is already made; there is nothing to learn.

However, Hualde argues, the behavior of affricates in Basque and other languages disproves Sagey's theory; affricates may, within a given language, appear to one phonological rule as [+cont] from the left, and to another rule as [–cont] from the right – the opposite of Sagey's prediction. The language learner (and the field linguist!)

must therefore learn, for each relevant rule, whether it treats affricates as + or – continuant.

Kelly Sloan: Bare-Consonant Reduplication: Implications for a Prosodic Theory of Reduplication

Sloan discusses an exotic reduplicative affixation process found in several Mon Khmeric languages. There are two oddities about this affix. First, in one language what is reduplicated is the first and last consonants of the root, but nothing in between! Second, the reduplicated affix appears, at first glance, not to be a syllable; and this violates a proposal (in an unpublished paper by McCarthy and Prince) that all reduplicative processes copy prosodic constituents (i.e. a syllable, foot or word).

With regard to the second oddity, Sloan shows that these languages have syllables consisting of only a consonant. Thus, there are minimal pairs like [k.look] "slit drum", and [klook] "bamboo bowl". (Hooper 1976 argued that English has syllables consisting of the consonant *s* in words like *spin*, but with less evidence.) Thus what is reduplicated is in fact a prosodic constituent in these languages, and does not violate McCarthy and Prince's generalization.

The first oddity of this reduplicative process – that in one of the languages it copies the first and last consonants of the root – also succumbs nicely to Sloan's analysis. The reduplicative affix, Sloan argues, is merely a monomoraic syllable, with no content (i.e. no consonants or vowels attached: a tree without leaves, as it were). In order to fill in this syllable, something must be copied from the root; and what is copied is the entire root. Then the last consonant of the reduplicated root is attached to the empty syllable, and finally the remaining content of the syllable is filled with the rest of the reduplicated root, beginning from the left. (This is the normal direction of syllabification in these languages, says Sloan; the attachment of the last consonant first is a stipulation.) But the monomoraic syllable has room for only one more segment, which is the first consonant of the reduplicated word. Since the remaining reduplicated material (the vowel(s) of the root, plus any remaining consonants) is not associated with a syllable, it is deleted. The result is that while the entire root is copied into the prefix position, only the first and last consonants remain at the surface.

It will be interesting to see if other languages having consonantal reduplication (probably a rare phenomenon) will fit this ingenious analysis.

Jack Martin: Subtractive Morphology as Dissociation

Within the generative school, two approaches to morphology predominate: an approach employing a phrase structure grammar, in which both roots and affixes are treated as lexical items; and an approach employing a sort of transformational grammar, in which roots are treated as lexical items but affixes are treated as rules that modify a word. (These two approaches are analogous to the earlier Item and Arrangement model, and Item and Process model, respectively.)

A good test case to decide between these two approaches is subtractive morphology, that is, affixes whose "form" consists of the removal of part of the stem to which they attach. The difficulty with finding a clear-cut case of a subtractive morpheme is first that subtractive morphology is rare, and second that cases of subtractive morphemes, when they are found, can often be reanalyzed by the use of stem classes. One treats the forms lacking the supposed subtractive morpheme as instead bearing some other affix (whose form depends on the stem class), while the supposed subtractive morpheme is reanalyzed as phonologically null. Such a reanalysis becomes less plausible as the number of stem classes proliferates.

Martin presents a language (Koasati, of the Muskogean family) in which the subtractive analysis seems much more plausible than the stem class analysis. Under a subtractive analysis, there is a plural verb suffix which deletes the final rhyme (=syllable coda) of the stem to which it attaches. Under the additive analysis, there would instead be a singular suffix having thirteen allomorphs, each attaching to verbs of one of thirteen stem classes.

More generally, Martin claims that morphology and phonology use the same rule types: association of phonological features and segments (assimilation and epenthesis in phonology, and "ordinary" affixation in morphology, as well as reduplicative and suprasegmental affixes, and so-called replacive affixes); metathesis (rare but attested in both phonology and morphology); and dissociation of features and

segments (deletion in phonology, subtractive affixation in morphology). It is from field linguists that we may hope to find more examples of the latter two types of morphological rules.

Sharon Inkelas: Prosodic Constraints on Syntax: Hausa *fa*

Those brought up in nongenerative linguistics may feel puzzled at some of the "discoveries" of generative linguists; for instance, subtractive morphemes (argued for in the paper by Martin) were discussed at least as early as 1949 by Nida. This paper on Hausa will similarly induce a sense of déjà vu. The author "provides evidence for a special type of constituent – the phonological phrase – that **thus far has not been demonstrated to exist in the [Hausa] language**" (emphasis added). Those who have always assumed that the phonological hierarchy extends beyond the word will be pardoned some surprise at this statement. But what Inkelas is really saying is that phonological phrases not only exist in Hausa, they have a determining effect on word order, a point which is perhaps more controversial. (Even that idea is not entirely new; heavy NP shift in English may be restricted to NPs which have at least two stresses, and clitics are another case of phonologically limited distribution.) In particular, Inkelas shows that a certain Hausa discourse particle's distribution is best described in phonological terms (as well as semantics – the particle "highlights" the word or phrase it follows). The particle must follow a phonological (not syntactic) phrase. Linguists having difficulties with "pesky particles" are advised to read this paper.

Peggy Hashemipour: Finite Control in Modern Persian

Most studies of control constructions (as in "John tried to leave") have focused on English-like languages, in which the controlled clause is infinitival. Hashemipour makes a good case that Persian possesses constructions in which a finite (subjunctive) clause is controlled. Such clauses may (after certain verbs) or must (after other verbs) have a phonologically null subject, and that subject is understood as coreferential with one of the NPs of the matrix clause. This result is problematical for the reigning theory of control constructions in GB theory, which says that a controlled subject must appear in a non-case-marked position, whereas the subject of Persian

subjunctive clauses, Hashemipour shows, is a case-marked position. She opts instead for a theory of control in which the controller is a nonovert operator (reminiscent of, but not the same as, Chomsky's 1977 analysis of *tough*-movement constructions). But her analysis makes it an accident that in both infinitival control languages (such as English) and finite control languages (Persian), only the subject can be controlled.

Nobuko Hasegawa: Passives, Verb Raising, and the Affectedness Condition

The cross-language identification of constructions is difficult, and the question of what passive voice is across languages – or whether this question even makes sense – is an issue of current interest to theoretical linguists. While passivization is restricted in English to transitive verbs, some languages can passivize intransitives, other languages may have several different passive-like constructions, and still other languages lack a passive entirely.

Hasegawa's approach to this issue is to say that the only thing common across languages is the existence of a passive morpheme that attaches to a "base" form of the verb. Although there is clearly more to it than that (how is a passive morpheme distinguished from any other verbal affix?), her analysis (which resembles that of Baker 1988, a work which apparently appeared after this conference took place) makes the properties of the passive construction in three languages (Japanese, German and English) follow largely from the language-particular properties of this morpheme (e.g. whether the morpheme has the syntactic features of a noun or verb). While I was not entirely convinced by her analysis (couched in terms of GB theory, but largely translatable into other theories), I found it helpful as a way of categorizing passive-like constructions in other languages.

Peter Sells: Thematic and Grammatical Hierarchies: Albanian Reflexivization

In many languages, only the subject can serve as antecedent to a reflexive, but that is not the case in all languages. For instance, in English the indirect object can antecede the direct object: "I showed John himself in the mirror." In the theory of GB, with its assumptions about the structural relations between an anaphor and its

antecedent, this necessitates a counterintuitive structure for double object constructions.

The same antecedent relations hold in Albanian as in English: an indirect object can antecede a direct object. But in Albanian, word order is irrelevant. Sells' claim is that it is grammatical obliqueness plus thematic relations, not structural (c–command) relations, that determine possible antecedents for an anaphor. More specifically, in Albanian (and probably English), an anaphor must be at least as oblique as its antecedent, and if the anaphor and its antecedent are equally oblique, then the antecedent must "outrank" the anaphor in terms of their thematic roles. (Agents outrank goals, and goals outrank themes.) Sells states that in a double–object construction in Albanian, the two objects are equally oblique. So in an "ordinary" double–object construction of Albanian, something like "John showed Mary herself" with co–reference intended between *Mary* and *herself*, the dative object can antecede the accusative object because as goal, the dative object outranks the accusative object, which bears the theme role. On the other hand, while benefactives can also appear as dative objects in the double–object construction in Albanian, they cannot antecede an accusative object because benefactives do not outrank themes.

The implications for linguists studying languages with free word (or phrase) order are clear, and field linguists are in an ideal position to gather data to support or refute Sells' claim.

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